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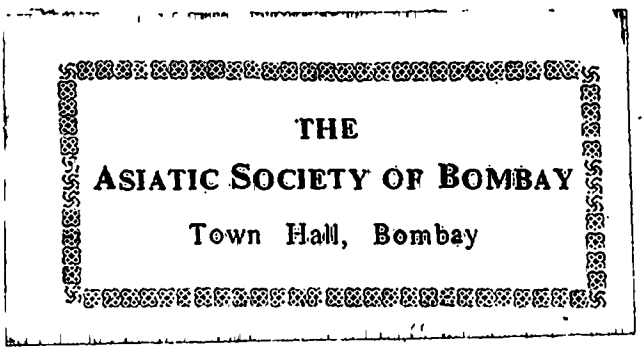

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THE

UNITED STATES

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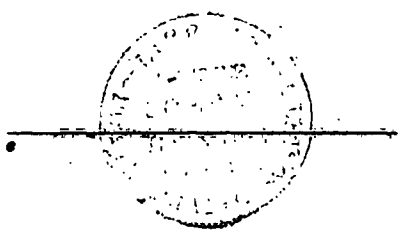
NORTH AMERICA

AS THEY ARE.



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PREFACE.

FIFTY years have passed since the emancipation of the United States. This lapse of time has solved two great questions. It has exposed the fallacy of human calculations, which anticipated only present anarchy and ultimate dissolution for the new Republics, and it has established the possibility of a people governing themselves, and being prosperous and happy.

Their political infancy is over, they have approached to manhood; and fully sensible of their strength, their first magistrate has ventured to utter the important words in his message of 1823, "That notwithstanding their neutrality they would consider any attempt on the part of European powers to extend their system to any portion of the transatlantic hemisphere as dangerous to

its peace and safety, and that they could not admit of any attempt at colonisation on the part of Europe." Thus for the first time they have advanced, taking a part *de facto* in the great political transactions of Europe, and pronouncing their declaration in a tone which has certainly contributed to the abandonment of most of those intentions which were fast ripening into execution.

Great has been the influence of American liberty throughout the civilized world. The French, and more recently the South American revolutions, and the commotions in Spain, Portugal, Naples, and in Piedmont, owe their origin not to any instigation on the part of the United States, but to the influence of their example in raising the standard of freedom, and more than all, to the success which crowned their efforts. On the other hand, great has been the influence of European politics on the American nation. A party existing since the revolution, and extending its ramifications

over the whole United States, is now growing into importance, and guided by the principles of European diplomacy, is rooting itself deeper and deeper, drawing within its circle the wealthy, the dissatisfied, and thus adding every day to its strength. We see, in short, the principle of monarchism developing itself in the United States; and though it is not attempted to establish it by means of a revolution which would assuredly fail, there is a design to bring it about by that cunning, cautious, and I may add, American way, which must eventually succeed, unless the spirit of freedom be sufficiently powerful to overrule these subtle preparations.

There have been many changes in the United States within the last ten years. The present rulers have succeeded in so amalgamating opinions, that whatever may be said to the contrary, only two parties are now existing there—the Monarchists or the Governors, and the Republicans who are the governed.

The object proposed in the following pages, has been to exhibit to the eyes of the world the state of American affairs, without prejudice, and without party spirit.

Adams is a favourite with Great Britain. This empire has, however, no just reason to admire him. Should his plans succeed, the cost to Great Britain would be the loss of her last possession in North America, while as long as the North American Republic continues united, this unwieldy mass of twenty-four States can never be dangerous.

Social orders as yet there are none, but they are developing themselves in the same way as wealth, luxury, ambition, and sciences, on the one side, and poverty, ignorance, and indirect oppression on the other, are increasing. Here, as everywhere else, this is the natural course of things.

To show the state of society in general, and the relative bearings of the different

classes to each other, and thereby to afford a clear idea of what the United States now really are, is the second object attempted in these pages.

To represent social intercourse and prevailing habits in such a manner as to enable the future emigrant to follow the prescribed track, and to settle with security and advantage to himself and to his new country; to afford him the means of judging for himself by giving him a complete view of public and private life in general, as well as of each profession or business in particular, is a third object contemplated. The capitalist, the merchant, the farmer, the physician, the lawyer, the mechanic, will find, I trust, adequate information respecting the course, which, in settling in the Union, he will have to pursue. Further explanation I think unnecessary. He who may consider these sketches insufficient, would not be better informed if I were to enlarge the work to twice its size. Such a one is unfit for a settler in a country

where so many snares beset his path. *Verbum sapienti sat.*

The author is conscious that in treating of the political state of America, his observations may be deemed severe. This severity of reproof may perhaps have become natural to him, from having, during a residence of a series of years, been accustomed to hear the President treated by the Opposition with less deference than the meanest citizen; but he may be allowed to say, that he has never permitted himself any exaggeration, or even a solitary sarcasm at the expense of truth. He is persuaded that time will confirm his statements.

He is equally aware of the many inaccuracies of his style, but while he shrinks not from fair criticism, he entreats that liberal indulgence which a stranger is allowed to claim at the hands of a great and generous nation.

London, June, 1827.

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THE

UNITED STATES

OF

NORTH AMERICA.

Chapter I.

INTRODUCTORY REVIEW OF THE POLITICAL, PHYSICAL, AND MORAL STATE OF THE UNION OF NORTH AMERICA.

The progress of the United States, during the fifty years of their political existence, is unparalleled in the history of nations. Thirteen states have increased to twenty-four, two millions and a half of inhabitants to eleven millions. The public revenues, which in 1784 were scarcely six millions of dollars, are now twenty-five millions. The navy, from the very lowest beginning, commands the respect, and excites the jealousy of the power which has hitherto been the ruler of the ocean. Upwards of a thousand steam and merchant vessels, surpassing in velocity those of every other nation, are daily importing the products of the most distant countries, and diffusing

them through the interior of the Union, by means of rivers, navigable for thousands of miles*. A single state (New York) has completed what is unexampled in the Old World, China alone excepted, a canal, three hundred and sixty miles in length. Another state (Ohio) will have finished, in the course of next year, a second canal, three hundred miles long, thus establishing an artificial water communication of nearly three thousand miles, beyond all comparison the most extensive on the face of the earth. Above thirty other canals are in progress, among them the Pennsylvania and the Chesapeake, the former partly finished, and scarcely yielding in length to that of New York.

To crown the whole, the national debt amounts.

* About twelve years ago there arrived at Leghorn, a ship, built at Pittsburgh, and cleared out from that place. The master presented his papers to the Custom-house officers, who would not give credit to them, insisting that the papers must have been forged, as there was no such a port as Pittsburgh, and accordingly the vessel was to be confiscated. The captain laid before the officer a map of the United States, directed his attention to the Gulf of Mexico, pointed out the mouth of the Mississippi, led him a thousand miles up the mouth of the Ohio, and from thence another thousand miles up to Pittsburgh: "This, Sir, is the port from whence my vessel has cleared out." The astonished officer would as soon have believed that it had been navigated from the moon.

to no more than seventy-four millions of dollars, and is rapidly diminishing. The clergy is without tithes, and peace and tranquillity prevail without a secret police and without an army.

It would not be difficult to trace the causes which have contributed to raise the Union of North America to this astonishing height of prosperity. A sea-coast of three thousand miles, excellent harbours, important rivers, rising and emptying themselves in its territory, a rich virgin soil, a temperate climate, a population composed of the descendants of the first nation in the world, the sciences of the ancient, the experience of modern times transplanted into a new and susceptible soil, and both united to the most liberal constitution that ever existed, were certainly elements which, well-employed and well-directed, afforded reason to anticipate future greatness. The Union happily found a genius fully competent to give it this direction in—Washington. Ever the same at home, in the field and in the cabinet, he imperceptibly gave to the nation the impress of his character and his politics. A character more firm, more composed, and, notwithstanding its simplicity, more dignified, than this statesman's can scarcely be imagined. There

never existed a man who knew the true interest of his country better than Washington, or sought it in a simpler or wiser way.

His farewell address bears ample testimony to his unbounded patriotism, and will ever be the noblest document of his great and enlightened mind. The experience of his long and splendid career is, as it were, compressed into a few words, and recommended with a warmth of feeling, of which many thought him incapable, and which may be attributed to the thorough conviction, that through the adoption of those principles alone his country could be happy. So true are the principles he lays down in this celebrated document, so wise the maxims he recommends, that the Union and their President cannot desert those counsels, without risking their welfare, and even their political existence.

To the adoption of Washington's maxims, the United States are undoubtedly, in a great measure, indebted for their present unexampled prosperity. "The great rule of conduct for us," says this great statesman, "in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible. So far as we have already

formed engagements, let them be fulfilled. Here let us stop. It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world. The inducements of interests for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavour to gain time to our country to settle and mature its recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortune.

This was the road recommended by him as the only one by which they and their young republic could attain that degree of power and wealth which now furnishes so interesting a spectacle to mankind.

Washington's successor (Adams), having different views, pursued a different track. His party (the Tories), his distinguished family-connexions, and important public services, elevated him to the post which Washington had occupied. Having manifested extraordinary zeal against Great Britain during the revolutionary war, these effervescences of a callous and ambitious mind were mistaken by the republican party (the Federalists

and Democrats) for signs of genuine republicanism. The nation, however, had very soon an opportunity of convincing itself that the hatred he bore to England had no other source than his being under its government a mere colonist, and his zeal no other aim than to make his party the rulers of the people, and himself and his family the head of that party. It is not without horror that the American Democrats dwell on the scenes of 1798—1801; when the tyranny of the black cockades rendered the difference between them and the Spartan Helots only a name. Happily for the United States, his government was not of long duration. Mr. Adams followed rather too closely the example of the First Consul, and declared, in too unequivocal a manner, his intention of domineering. The oppression and the insults which the Democrats had to endure at this time became so intolerable, and the infringement of their rights so daring, as to excite general discontent. Sedition-laws, arrests, imprisonments, and gibbets, only augmented the evil. Pennsylvania gave the signal for general revolt, which was prevented only by the dismissal of the President. The Johns have never furnished high specimens of a prudent government. The Eng-

lish John lost his dominions, the French his liberty, the Bohemian his life, and the American his second election. Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, whatever any of their opponents may object against their party principles, were men whose memory ought to be cherished by the people of the United States. What Monroe was—the so roughly treated Monroe—they have already felt, and are likely to feel still more, in the present dearth of statesmen. John Bull has now the satisfaction of knowing that brother Jonathan, who prided himself not a little in having, as he fancied, servants in lieu of Magistrates, has already become the dupe of his second-hand honourables, and is moreover in a pretty fair way of being put, by their well-meant endeavours, on an equal footing with the rest of the world.

Chapter II.

Election of the President, 1824.

Among the four candidates for the Presidency in 1824, the Caucus candidate, as he was called, Mr. Crawford, was the only one fit, in every respect, to succeed to the chair once filled by Washington. Less splendid than solid in his political career, as a member of Congress, a senator, an ambassador, and Secretary of the Treasury, he expressed himself unequivocally in behalf of the system hitherto pursued, and gave the fairest expectation of his persevering in the principles of Washington. Unhappily, however, under the last three Presidents enormous abuses had crept into the administration; creatures of the reigning party were appointed to all offices, almost to the exclusion of the rest of the nation. Responsibility was wholly out of the question. The arrears in the post-department alone amounted to many hundred thousand dollars. It was deemed expedient to deviate from the existing mode of accepting the Presidents from the hands of Congress, and high time to annul a privilege which

that assembly seemed already to claim as a right. The Democrats formed an opposition, in consequence, against Mr. Crawford, the candidate of the democratic party, which was joined by most of the democratic states. Virginia, so much favoured by the present state of things, together with Georgia, the native state of Crawford, adhered to the Secretary of the Treasury, not choosing to desert him, even when his prospects became hopeless.

The second democratic candidate was Mr. Jackson, Senator of the United States, and Major-General. He was considered as the head of the Radicals, who expected from his powerful hand a thorough reform of the administration—that is to say, a change of the magistrates and officers, the chastisement of the Tories, correction of abuses; among the rest, of the enormous army of 5,800 men, and of the navy; then consisting of seven ships of the line; a reduction of the public expenditure for fortification, &c. The Pennsylvanians, so fond of the saving principles, joined the General, as did their neighbours, the people of Ohio. The Southern States conceived themselves indebted to Jackson for his gallant defence at New Orleans, and therefore considered it their duty to

adhere to him. All the place-hunters in the Union formed the rear-guard of the second candidate.

The Secretaryship was regarded as the usual road to the Presidency. Mr. John Quincy Adams was then Secretary of State: his party consisted of the six New England States. A finished education, an intimate acquaintance with the belles lettres, a high character as a diplomatist, an elegant style as an author, and the important office of Secretary of State, attracted to his party the fashionables throughout the Union; and New York, for this reason, gave up Crawford and Jackson, and joined Adams's party, which might be considered as the very antipodes of Jackson's, wishing for a more respectable navy and army, a higher tone towards foreign powers, and the like.

Mr. Henry Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, had also announced himself as a candidate: his party consisted of the people of Kentucky, Missouri, &c.; at the time, however, he cared less about securing the Presidency for himself than obtaining the election of a President who was most likely to serve his interests, and those of his party: to carry every measure by his party, and to ensure his own elevation at the next election, was his object. The States of Kentucky

and Missouri had expressed their desire to their constituents, to have their votes given to Andrew Jackson, in case Clay should not have any chance of succeeding to the Presidency; for they had every reason to expect a more ready concurrence in their views and interests from Jackson, as senator for Tennessee, than from any other of the candidates. Clay promised obedience to the order of his constituents.

Of these four candidates, Crawford obtained from Virginia and Georgia forty-two votes; Jackson from Tennessee, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and the Southern States, ninety-nine; Adams, from the New England States, New York, &c., eighty-four; and Clay, from Kentucky, Missouri, &c., thirty-six votes *.

None of these four candidates having the constitutional majority of votes, the election devolved on the House of Representatives, before whom the three former candidates, Crawford, Jackson, and Adams, were brought, agreeably to the law of election, Clay being excluded.

* In the case where no candidate has two-thirds of the whole votes *viz.* (261), the Constitution declares that the election devolves upon the House of Representatives, before which the three candidates are to be brought who have the most votes in the general election. Each State has then one vote, and the absolute majority, i. e. 13, makes the election valid.

The will of the people was manifested in too clear a manner to admit of any doubt, or to afford cause for any uneasiness respecting the issue of the election. A disappointment was thought the less probable, as the rivalship, or rather enmity of Clay and Adams, since the Treaty of Ghent, was notorious, and the severe attacks of the former in the House of Representatives were still in remembrance. What added to this security was, that the majority of votes was for Jackson: expectation was, however, disappointed, and the pride of the sovereign people of the United States could scarcely be more humbled than by the use made by their representatives of their delegated power.

Similar views and principles made Adams and his party a compact body, who understood each other perfectly, and acted on the same principles.

Besides being united, this party, consisting chiefly of Yankees*, had the advantage of superior information and talents, with what is always the case with the Yankee—a proportionate addition of trick and artifice. Great cunning was, however, not requisite to outwit Jackson's party; for the honest, but phlegmatic Germans thought

* In order to obviate misunderstandings, we think proper to state that, under the appellation Yankees, we mean the inhabitants of the six New England States.

it sufficient to cling to their leader, as their ancestors did in days of old to their chieftains. The States whose votes were divided between Adams and Jackson were induced, without great effort, to join the party of Adams, who, in consequence, obtained an equality of votes with Jackson, but no majority.

The party of Crawford kept themselves in the background, without listening either to the insinuations of Jackson's or Adams's party. Clay, who at first chose likewise to stand neuter, now deemed it the proper time to step forward, and to assume the part of mediator; his adherents, as we mentioned, were Kentuckians: the credit of the Kentuckians is not very firm. A certain fashionable way of life, gambling, races, state bankruptcies, land speculations, an inveterate propensity to the bottle, have caused much disorder in the financial circumstances of these gentlemen: even the honourable Speaker, Mr. Clay, was not thought quite exempt from the general diseases of his State. There was but one remedy—to get Mr. Clay into the office of Secretary of State, and thus afford his faithful friends the means of retrieving their fortune and credit, by the gift of important offices. Accordingly, his supporters thought it necessary to reconnoitre the parties: a beginning was made

with Mr. Jackson, who was asked what their master had to expect from the General, in case he should be elected by their co-operation. Either Jackson did not choose to deliver himself into the hands of Mr. Clay, or having no particular fancy for Mr. Clay, as Secretary of State, he declined making any offers. The Representatives of Kentucky had been directed by their respective States to give their votes, in the present case, without any condition, to Jackson. To ensure their fidelity, they were obliged to act in accordance with the Speaker, whose enmity to Adams seemed to them the surest means of securing his election.

Political enmities and friendships have this much in common, that their duration is just so long as the parties find it to suit their purposes. If the nation has no other guarantee for the fidelity of its servants, its interests are in bad hands: unfortunately there was none.

The very circumstance which separated the political antagonists was the cause of their union—ambition. Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay found out and understood one another. The very men who but a week before hated each other most cordially, and never met except on public and unavoidable occasions, now spent whole nights together in a clandestine manner. In what light the nation

would view these proceedings, on the part of men of their character, there could be no question: Adams and Clay had succeeded in dispelling the prejudices about the rights of the people. A formal bargain was concluded, which gave the nation for the term of four years into the hands of Mr. Adams. The stipulated price for which the Speaker bound himself to join Mr. Adams was the Secretaryship of State. This being agreed to, Mr. Clay, with his friends, went over to Mr. Adams and his party.

In order to prepare the minds of his constituents, and to exculpate himself for his accession to the party of Adams, Clay addressed a letter to Colonel W——, in Kentucky, desiring it to be published, expressing his scruples in regard to Jackson, and the necessity of declaring for Adams. The subsequent election gave to Crawford four votes, to Jackson seven, and to Adams thirteen votes, and, of course, the Presidency.

To describe the temper of the nation after these events is scarcely in my power. The suppressed malicious smile of the Tories, who dared not manifest their mischievous joy at their victory; the republican Federalist doubtfully shaking his head at the triumph of a party which not many years

before actually intended to sell their country; the simple Democrat who had but an obscure idea of the whole proceedings, and was unable to comprehend how the great gentlemen could have been so blind as to prefer a Tory to the second Washington (Jackson); the Radicals, finally, who had conceived, from Jackson's elevation, very sanguine hopes respecting offices, and now saw themselves so cruelly disappointed, loudly denouncing treachery, and crying out for civil war—such were the scenes that might everywhere be witnessed. The power which the law certainly exercises upon the citizen of the United States (at least the northern) was, on this occasion, seen to advantage. Notwithstanding the disappointment of his fondest hopes, he attempted not the least opposition to the object of his hatred, who was now elected his first magistrate. There were several exhibitions and illuminations, at which Mr. Clay was hung, and afterwards burnt in effigy, while John Adams was mentioned in rather less honourable terms; but that was all. The nation expected further light, and obtained it.

The first glimpse of the proceedings between Messrs. Adams and Clay was obtained through a

letter written by Mr. Cramer, member of Congress from the state of Pennsylvania, which appeared in the *Colombian Observer*, and alluded to nightly interviews held at Washington, between Messrs. Adams, Clay, and their parties. Clay, to whom a printed copy of this letter was sent, answered in a truly Kentuckian style, in the most abusive language and with a challenge, at the same time citing Cramer before the House of Representatives.

Cramer declined appearing before this assembly. He was not, however, a man calculated to unravel the intricacies of this plot, or to make head against the two gentlemen (Adams and Clay), and the whole proceeding terminated in a manner puerile and discreditable to the Pennsylvanian members of Congress.

Clay, however, notwithstanding the superior talents which cannot be denied him, was little sensible of the inconsistency of which he was guilty in publishing his circular to his constituents, or he would have known that the very tone of mind in which he composed this letter, was his strongest accuser. Nothing but the Kentuckian arrogance, with which he looks down upon the military chieftain, Jackson, and the ineffable

contempt with which he treats the effusions of popular discontent in the smaller towns, could equal the treachery to the people, of which he was accused. The correspondence occasioned by this letter of Mr. Clay, and the reminiscences which it now revived in the minds of the honourable members, needed nothing more than confirmation on the part of Mr. Adams himself, who was not backward in giving it, and in thus stating the price for which the first magistracy was obtained.

Chapter III.

John Quincy Adams, President of the United States—The Nation.

John Quincy Adams was already unpopular on his father's account. Introduced at an early period into the most important public offices, he became accustomed to look down upon the people. A Tory by birth and by education, he is as staunch as his father; but with less mental capacity he is infinitely more dangerous. His father's political errors and the embassies of London, St. Petersburgh, and Paris, were the schools in which he was trained; cold, circumspect, and free from passion, he disregards the censures as well as the approbation of the people, above whom he considers himself elevated. This pride or rather arrogance, is a family failing, and so little is he able to suppress it, that previously to his elevation, and while yet but a candidate, he so far forgot himself as to threaten an officer of the Bank, who presumed to consider his indorsement as no better than that of another citizen, with the full weight of his dis-

pleasure. In private life he seems anxious to conceal this passion under the mask of republican carelessness, and a certain *nonchalance*. His countenance betrays a cold ambitious mind, his dark eye exhibits the heartless diplomatist. As a politician, he adopts the axiom that the means are justified by the end. Neither a Democrat nor a Federalist, he joined both parties, and left them as he found it best suited to his interest. When Secretary of State he uttered the following memorable words: "The United States will not be ranked among nations till the Presidency becomes hereditary." When one of the representatives was introduced to a nightly interview with him, and expressed his scruples respecting the manner of the election, the characteristic reply of Adams was, "Sir, the time will come, even with the United States, when the government, and not a prejudiced populace destitute of character, will determine the public opinion. The question is, whether you, Sir, are sensible of the importance and the advantages which must necessarily accrue to you from the present course, or whether you prefer the old system.—Your determination in regard to the election is decisive."

Adams is reputed by his party and the majority of the people, to possess a great mind: this is far from being the case. His talents are rather of an ordinary kind, but they are not the less dangerous on that account; for it is not the greatest, but the coldest and most persevering statesman, alike insensible to contempt and to praise, who is most obnoxious to the freedom of a nation. His style, a mixture of the elegant and the diplomatic, is admired, because it is new to the United States. It cannot be denied, that it is the most fit to disguise his political opinions and his deep-laid schemes. This motive and his predilection for everything coming from the eastern courts, may sufficiently account for his adoption of and fondness for it. If taken upon the whole, he may be considered a most dangerous man to the freedom of the Union, and if he had been sent by Metternich himself, he could not pursue more closely the principles of the Holy Alliance*.

It was to be presumed that the temper of the

* This will, I hope, sufficiently account for the circumstance, that the editor of the *Austrian Observer*, who is private secretary to Prince Metternich, espouses on every occasion the party of Mr. Adams against the attacks of his political adversaries. We admire this. Friends will find out one another though separated by a distance of four thousand miles.

nation towards the new President would be somewhat different from that which was manifested towards his predecessors (his father excepted); not that the people expect to have a President chosen without the ordinary intrigues incident to electioneering. To these they are accustomed, and there will hardly be found a constable in the United States who obtains his petty office without intrigues.

But the manner in which the new President had obtruded himself upon the nation, bespoke such an utter disregard for the established and fundamental principle of the constitution—the sovereignty of the people, to whose will, its organs, the representatives, are bound to conform, was, through the price with which Adams purchased their treachery, so trampled upon, and so strongly attacked in its foundations, that the nation could not but be wholly alienated from him. The innate arrogance of Mr. Adams, always kept him aloof from the people. He never mingled with his fellow-citizens on equal terms. Pretty much in the manner of European grandees, who effect through their dependents what they think beneath their own sphere, he endeavoured to work upon them by his public journals. But as brother Jonathan is

not yet so happy as to have Washington grandees, and as he appreciates the heavy burden of sovereignty too well not to keep it on his own shoulders, the *coup-de-main* by which Adams endeavoured to ease him of this trouble, and, by the assistance of his followers and the honourable Speaker in his own cabinet, to settle his fate, was far from being looked upon with that deference and respect to which he was accustomed in his diplomatic career. The citizen of the United States is habituated to scrutinize with an innate distrust the measures of his administration, even when enjoying his confidence. The Opposition generally take upon themselves this interested attention. Adams had no republican party in his favour; his election was the work of the Monarchists and of his own genius. The nation, as was to be expected, has shrunk from such an union, and the better part is waiting with impatience for the moment which shall deliver it from an administration, from whose hostile tendency it cannot look for any measures but such as are both dangerous to its political freedom and to its general welfare.

The new President soon after his election, had a good opportunity of ascertaining the public opinion, from the conduct of several distin-

guished men towards him. Previously to his election, he caused the calumnies of Mr. Edwards, who accused Mr. Crawford of mismanagement in the treasury-department, to be inserted in the public papers then at his command. This was done in terms full of suspicion in regard to Crawford. At the same time he endeavoured, by all possible means, to prevent the recall of the calumniator, who was on his way to Mexico. The new President had the magnanimity, as it was called by his party, to offer the Secretaryship of the Treasury to the very person whom he had not long before represented as an object of public suspicion, and in whose broken state of health and ruined hopes he had the greatest share. Crawford, in cold and dignified terms, declined the intended honour of serving under him in his former capacity, intimating in a rather unequivocal manner, that he would not have any connexion with the administration of Adams.

The same office was subsequently offered to Mr. Clinton, Governor of New York, who refused it in a still colder and almost contemptuous manner, quite in that lofty and cutting tone which Adams himself is so fond of employing. "He values too highly the confidence of the people

of the State of New York, who elected him to the first magistracy in their gift, to exchange it for a place under the administration of Adams." The nation is quiet, and exhibits not the least symptom of disorder, and even the most furious partisans of Jackson are silent after his own example.

The only public paper which encouraged revolutionary movements (the *Columbian Observer*), was in a short time silenced, and discontinued by the most ardent friends of Jackson.

The American citizen has inherited from his English ancestors, the respect due to the existing authorities and to himself. It is self-esteem which prevents him from degrading in the eyes of the world the first Magistrate, although forced upon him by the unprecedented faithlessness of his representatives. But this does not hinder him from venting the feelings of his aversion on every opportunity. Last year a steam-boat was launched from the wharfs at Pittsburgh; she was destined to run between that place and New Orleans, and was to start immediately on her first trip. Thousands of people were collecting on the bank of the Ohio (Monongchela); trunks, barrels, and bales, lay ready for embarkation; the passengers

were going to enter their names; the public attention was in suspense, and only waited for the last act of this interesting scene. At length the veil was removed from the bust placed at the head of the vessel, and the name of the steam-boat appeared in letters of gold a yard long. In less than five minutes, not a spectator, not a passenger, not a trunk, not a barrel, not a bale, was to be seen: without uttering a word, the silent multitude had disappeared. The name of the steam-boat was Lady Adams, her bust, an elegant piece of carving in princely costume with a diadem, was proudly displayed at the head of the vessel. The owner, who had a few days previously arrived from the south-west, and thought to give the good people of Pittsburgh an agreeable surprise, found himself wofully disappointed, and he replaced the elegant figure by that of the martial-whiskered General Caffee; and then only did passengers, bales, and barrels return, though not in half the number they had before presented themselves.

Chapter IV.

The Ministry of State—Clay, Secretary of State—Southard, Secretary of the Navy—Rush, Secretary of the Treasury—Barbour, Secretary of War—Marshall, Chief Justice—The Message of the President.

The first measures of a new President are, his message to the Senate, the House of Representatives and the nation,—the next the composition of his Cabinet.

The nation had now little doubt respecting the proceedings at Washington, and spoke freely its sentiments, intimating, that it would regard the nomination of Mr. Clay to the office of Secretary of State, as an unquestionable proof of the truth of the accusations to which we have alluded, more especially as the character of Clay was so diametrically opposite to that of Adams, their enmity, till the week previously to the election, so notorious, and Clay, notwithstanding his talents, the last person upon whom Adams, if unfettered, would have fixed his choice. Regard for public opinion, and the offended feelings of

the people, must necessarily have instigated Mr. Adams to another choice, if he had been at liberty; but the Secretaryship of State was the price stipulated for the Presidency, and Mr. Clay thus became first minister.

In his earlier life this gentleman was a lawyer in Kentucky, and he was afterwards chosen for his oratorical talents as representative for that State in Congress. In this capacity he distinguished himself by a nervous, a natural, and a practical eloquence—*ad hominem*. A quick penetration, and a self-possession which scarcely anything could disturb, procured him influence, and a daring presumption common to the Kentuckians, gave him preponderance. Without classical education, he knows how to assail the weak part of human nature in a truly singular way. At an early period of his public life he voted against the interest of his constituents. After his return from Washington, he met everywhere with a cold reception. As if nothing had happened, he mingled with his neighbours: no one spoke to him; he was shunned by all. Approaching an old friend of his, a respectable Kentucky farmer, he wished him a good day—"I thank you," was the reply. "How d'ye you

do?"—"Harry," replied the old farmer dryly, "I presume we must part: thou canst not be any longer our congressman." "Why so, Sir?" "Thou knowest better than I do, thou art a cunning fellow, too cunning for us." After a long pause, "Look!" said Clay, taking the Kentucky man's rifle from his hand, and pointing to it, "Do you remember the time when we hunted many a buck together?" "Yes!"—"Then you have not yet given up your old friend?" returning the rifle.—"Certainly not." "And did *he* stick as faithfully to *you*?" "What dost thou mean?" "Has he never disappointed you when the game was before his muzzle?" "Why, yes, sometimes." "Then you have not broken him to pieces?" "Why should I—I have given him another chance?" "You have done so, dear Tom, but your old friend and trusty servant you are going to break because he once disappointed you? Ah, Tom, could you act thus with Harry, your old faithful Harry?" at the same time grasping his hand and pressing it heartily. "G—d d—n me," exclaimed the old Kentuckian, "if I do, I will try thee again Harry!" And a shake of the hand which would have broken the finger of any one but

a Kentuckian, sealed the reconciliation, and assured Clay that he was restored to favour. In less than one hour the apropos allegory was in every one's mouth; "Clay for ever!" was vociferated on every side, and he was again unanimously elected representative.

As Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of Ghent he played rather an indifferent part, and quarrelled with Adams. The explanations promised by him to the nation, respecting Adams's conduct at Ghent, we are still waiting for. His influence became overbearing, and so much power did he possess over the minds of his fellow-representatives, that there was little doubt of his being elected President, in case of his return to the house as one of the three candidates. His peculiar talent consists in making himself popular with his State. In order to win his countrymen over to his interests, he plays as easily the part of the drunkard and the gambler, as in good company he can put on the gentleman. The Kentuckian, however, is apparent, and his coarse impetuosity breaks forth on every occasion. This latter circumstance, so far from affecting his popularity, renders him the idol of his countrymen. "That is a mighty great man! That is a wonder-

fully eminent man!" That is the very first man in the Union, you may hear from every Kentuckian, and be knocked down if you should not be precisely of the same opinion.

Clay has in his person very little that is attractive; a disagreeable face, gray piercing eyes, full of a wild and malicious fire, distinguish the shrewd and impetuous politician, who knows no delicacy in the choice of his means. No other State but Kentucky would have forgiven Clay's breach of trust. The Kentuckians were angry only so long as they were unacquainted with the price of this job *en gros*; as soon as they had the opening prospect of offices from their countryman, the present Secretary of State, he again became their favourite. It is no small honour to the other States that they deeply feel the wound inflicted on the moral principle of the Republic, and accordingly hold its author in abomination. None of the twenty-two States would choose him under the present circumstances for a constable. His private life is far from being exemplary: a duellist and a gambler, he has neither principle nor a sense of what is due to decorum.

It is certainly shocking to see the Speaker of

the House of Representatives of the United States forget himself and his dignity, so far as to reply to an anonymous attack in a newspaper in the vilest terms, and with a challenge such as might have been given by a coachman. This, however, is his way of silencing his antagonists: for this reason Randolph had to fight him. I saw him in Cincinnati (Ohio) when a small number of friends gave him a public dinner against the sense of the majority of the people. Though he was perfectly aware of the utter abomination in which he was held by the inhabitants, his conduct was such as if nothing had happened. To shake hands with every one who offered, and to affect a cordiality, which, looking into his face, appeared rather to be a satire, gave him, in the eyes of the prudent Ohian, more the air of an impudent stage player. This hunting after popularity, these smiles and falsehoods to no purpose, formed a scene more disgusting than I should have expected from a man of Clay's standing and intellect.

The post of Secretary of the Navy was filled by Mr. Southard, a man of a narrow mind, and so completely the tool of Mr. Adams, that he is certainly not a worthy subject of biography.

We shall confine ourselves to a short notice of this gentleman. Formerly a schoolmaster, then a lawyer, he performs the duties of his present office, in a manner which clearly shews that he has preserved only the very worst traits of his former professions. In whatever he does, an unaccountable odium attaches to his measures. The reappointment of the man who slew the noble-minded Decatur, of the man who dishonourably struck his flag to the enemy, and, though he consulted his personal safety, and retired to a foreign country during the war, was called to fill a post of honour in the United States' Navy, at once convinced the American nation, that shooting an adversary in cold blood and fidelity towards Mr. Adams, were sufficient qualifications for advancement.

This appointment was intended to effect the humiliation of Commodore Porter. Whatever may have been the fault of this gentleman in feeling the affront done to the flag of the United States, and in releasing by force of arms his lieutenant, who had been put in prison by the Mayor of Portorico, then a place of shelter for pirates, he was punished with more than ordinary severity, by being compelled to appear before a judge,

who was prejudiced against him, and who annoyed him in a manner which must have been truly galling to the feelings of the open-hearted seaman. There is, in the naval Secretary, a striking peculiarity of character, which is very often to be found in low-minded men when raised to elevated stations. Their peevish souls delight in the infliction of every kind of torture they can devise against their betters. Porter felt so much humbled by questions calculated to lower him in the public opinion, and in his own, that he quitted the service in disgust.

Rush, the Secretary of the Treasury, is a harmless man. Grateful for his promotion to an office which was declined by Crawford and Clinton, he serves Mr. Adams with fidelity and zeal. He is a mere cipher in all respects, if we except the framing of the annual reports transmitted by him to the House of Representatives. Mr. Adams's object in making him Secretary of the Treasury, was merely to gratify the good people of Philadelphia, with whom, or rather with its Tories, Mr. Rush possesses great influence.

Barbour, the Secretary of War, and Marshall, the Chief Justice, are men of exalted character, whatever may be their party principles. Of the

five gentlemen I have named, Messrs. Clay and Southard may be considered as the instruments of the President, Rush as his faithful servant, and Barbour and Marshall as his ministers. The choice of Mr. Adams was such, that he silenced Federalists, Democrats, and Tories, and secured to himself all the power necessary for the execution of his schemes. This amalgamation of parties if continued, will produce more serious consequences than the United States are aware of.

The President's Message.

The nation was accustomed to find in the message of its former Presidents, a solid and succinct account of its relations. The navy, the army, the roads, the posts, the resources, the wants of the State, every subject that interested and concerned the nation, was brought into review, and the political measures to be adopted were represented in clear and distinct features. Such were the messages of former Presidents, such was that of Monroe; and when the latter declared in his message of 1823, "that the United States, notwithstanding their system of partiality, would consider any attempt on the part of European powers to extend their views to any

portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to the peace and safety of the Union," &c.—we see in this declaration the manly and dignified language of the chief of a Republic, who, sensible of its importance, abstains alike from raising premature pretensions, and from holding out empty threats; we also see in it the free magistrate of a free country speaking his mind in plain terms, without art or cunning. Mr. Adams's message presents a striking contrast. We see a highly ornamented rhetorical production, which labours to disguise the ambitious schemes that are to be carried into effect. Instead of taking a review of the political and economical state of the Union, it tells us that the executive must not be obstructed in its endeavours to carry into effect the plans and schemes which it considers to be expedient for the welfare of the nation. We hear of an observatory, desired by no one, and voyages of discovery which are impracticable. The ministers of Napoleon or of Russia might have proposed to their sovereigns such enterprises; a candidate of the Parisian academy might have delivered a similar speech. A President of the United States should not be satisfied with producing fine-sounding phrases, he has other ob-

jects to attend to of a more important and pressing nature. In a new Republic, one half of whose territory is without bridges and without roads, where the most essential means of social intercourse are wanting, we can afford but little attention to the erection of an academy of fine arts and belles-lettres. I speak the language of experience; for none can entertain greater esteem than I do for the arts and sciences, as well as for their protectors. But the Parisian academy, transplanted to Constantinople, would but vegetate like orange-trees confined to greenhouses. In the course of time America will have its sciences and arts as well as Europe; but it evinces an unpardonable short-sightedness in the chief of a commonwealth to dwell upon such topics, where so many other things are to be done, and where two-thirds of the Sovereigns of the United States (as they please to call themselves), have no glass in their window frames, and are obliged to transport the produce of their lands to the towns or mills on beasts of burden, for a space of from ten to twenty miles, through pathless woods and forests.

To produce excitement in the public mind by some splendid novelties, to fill the world with

their names, to attain a high rank among the great ones of the earth, and to be greeted by its monarchs as brothers—these were the failings of the father; those of the son seem in their tendency, to be still more ruinous to the Union. The father (John Adams) in his character of Vice President, brought a motion before the Senate, for changing the President's style and title from that of Excellency to that of Highness and Protector of our Liberties. The son is of opinion, that the United States will not dare to aspire to the rank of a nation of the first order, so long as the Presidency is not established for life, and of course hereditary in his family; and he thinks it high time to organize an important army and navy, and to assume a more exalted tone in his intercourse with foreign powers. It was principally with this object in view that Mr. Clay was directed to address a note to Mr. Middleton, the ambassador from the United States to the Court of St. Petersburgh, by which this gentleman was instructed to urge, in the most earnest terms, the interposition of the Russian Government, in order to bring about a termination of the war between Spain and its former colonies. This conduct on the part of Mr. Adams, reminds me

of a newly-created baronet waiting with impatience the moment when his new coat-of-arms and his recently-acquired splendour are to be displayed to the admiring world in the gorgeous pomp of a state carriage. What in the name of common sense could induce Mr. Adams and his new friend to take upon themselves the part of a second-hand mediator, and to send forth a heavy, tedious, and after all insignificant memorial to the Russian Cabinet? Was it not more consistent with the *status quo* of the United States, to observe a prudent silence about affairs in which Messrs. Adams and Clay had no concern? Was it not in the highest degree presumptuous in them to assure the Russian Government of their being satisfied with the present possessors of Cuba and Portorico, and that they could not on the other hand remain passive spectators of their occupation by a foreign power? We forbear mentioning that this undiplomatic manner of determining with a third party, with respect to the possession of a second, savours a little of Buonaparte, and we shall only ask the simple question, What could the administration of the United States effect with their twelve ships of the line, and twice as many frigates, if

Great Britain were to resolve upon occupying Cuba? If Adams, instead of acting with humble arrogance through his organ Mr. Middleton, on the Court of Russia, had declared in his message, that the situation of the Southern States does not admit of the forcible occupation and revolutionizing of Cuba on the part of the South American Republics, such a declaration would have borne at least a dignified character.

The Russian minister further replies in his note, "That justice, the law of nations, and the general interest in having the indisputable titles of sovereignty respected, could not allow the determinations of the mother-country, in this important case, to be prejudged or anticipated, and that it will not, therefore, be possible for his Imperial Majesty to change principles in this negotiation, nor to institute it separately; and until positive information has been received of the ulterior views of Spain in regard to her American possessions, of her decision upon the proposition of the United States, and of the opinion of her allies in relation to the same subject, that, therefore, Russia cannot give a definitive answer." We hope that Adams will take the hint from this courteous but sufficiently intelligible lesson, that

he may in future spare himself the assuming of the part of mediator, and he had better attend to his own affairs. As for Mr. Clay, the author of this specimen of Backwood diplomacy, the hint is lost upon him; any insinuation in order to make an impression upon *him*, must be of a coarse nature, and then Mr. Nesselrode would incur the danger of being treated in a Kentuckian, or, which is nearly the same thing, in a Cossack style. The conclusion of the Russian answer is, "She (Russia) is however in the meanwhile, pleased to hope, that the United States (becoming every day more convinced of the evils and dangers that would result to Cuba and Portorico from a change of government, and being satisfied, *as Mr. Clay has said in his despatch*, with the present commercial legislation of these two islands) will use their *influence in defeating, as far as may be in their power*, every enterprise against those islands, and in securing to the rights of his Catholic Majesty, constant and proper respect." It shews how quickly the artful statesman (Nesselrode) understands the mode of directing these two inconsiderate statesmen in the course which they are expected to pursue.

Happy would it be for the United States, if

every ill-digested and immature pretension of their administration, was attended with no worse consequences than to be laid aside. This treatment, however derogatory it might be to the national honour, would not affect its tranquillity, which is now at stake, and along with it the public peace and welfare. By the course which the administration of the United States has adopted with regard to the Congress of Panama or Mexico, they have renounced the system of neutrality heretofore adhered to—have involved themselves in difficulties which, to speak within bounds, may endanger their Union and political existence.

Chapter V.

The Republics of South America—Congress of Mexico—Policy of the Administration of the United States in Regard to that Congress—Its Consequences.

The South American Republics are now in full possession of their liberty: their governments are acknowledged by the United States, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and to a certain extent by France. Spain does not possess a square mile of ground on the American Continent. Exhausted by a long war, distracted by party spirit, impoverished beyond description, she sees the impossibility of continuing the contest any longer. She has no hope left but in the assistance of her allies, and in the counter-revolution of her former colonies. To this circumstance is to be ascribed her refusal to acknowledge those Republics, although at the peril of losing Cuba and Portorico, her only remaining possessions in the western world; and to this cause we may attribute her last effort to send out a squadron with the double destination of protecting those islands, and in

case of civil commotions in the new Republics, of directing its operations accordingly.

On the other hand, the republican form of the new States, is so little adapted to their population, as to preclude all hope of its becoming permanent. When the United States of North America resolved to shake of the yoke of Great Britain, the population of these thirteen States were ripe for political emancipation. Descended from the freest nation of Europe, they fled to the wilderness in order to enjoy, unrestrained, their religious and political liberty. The mere shadow of oppression was to them insupportable; and measures which in South America, or on the European Continent, would have been deemed rather a benefit than a grievance, occasioned in the United States a revolt at first, and afterwards a complete revolution. After six years' warfare, two millions and a half of people succeeded in obtaining, not so much by their physical as by their moral strength, perfect freedom and independence from the control of the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the world. Quite different is the case with the new Republics of the South. The Spaniards came to America in quest of wealth, not of freedom: as soon as

they had attained their aim, they returned to the mother-country.

Comparatively few respectable families remained in the colonies. The majority of the Spaniards who emigrated to America, were adventurers and idlers, attracted and detained by the facility of earning a livelihood, and having nothing to lose in their own country. They mostly mixed with Negroes and Indians, and from this intercourse originated a motley population, *half-red, half-black, and half-yellow*, whose mental accomplishments go *pari passu* with their faces. Religion and priests, or rather superstition and monks, are not fit instruments to nourish liberal and republican ideas! The necessity of emancipation, therefore, being only felt by the Creoles of the better class, very few at first joined the cry of independence; few provinces took up arms, and even in these, only the minority of the population. It was not until the mother-country drove the colonists to despair by its impolitic measures and unprincipled cruelties, that revolt became more general. From the year 1808 to the year 1825, a population exceeding twenty millions of inhabitants, favoured by their natural allies, climate, and disease, has been contending, with doubtful suc-

cess, against an enemy whose strength was daily diminishing, and who had to derive its scanty resources from a distance of four thousand miles; and it was not until 1825, that the issue of the battle at the Ayacucho decided the contest in favour of South American independence. The new Republics are no doubt emancipated from the yoke of the mother-country, but there is yet wanting the first principles requisite to the formation and maintenance of a free commonwealth—a population whose elements are such as to admit of its being virtually represented, and thereby to ensure durability to their republican institutions. At present the power is in the hands of the Generals who secured the Republican Independence, Bolivar, Paez, &c., some of whom wield the powers intrusted to them with sovereign sway, and want nothing to complete the character but the title. The Congresses of the different new States are composed of Creoles of the better class, and of priests and Spaniards who declared themselves for the new order of things—all creatures of these despots.

The proportion of the white to the yellow, red, and black population, in most of the new Republics, is as one to ten, and of this tenth not

more than half can be considered as capable of taking part in the political affairs of the State. The rest of the community are sunk in indolence, poverty, ignorance, and sloth, little differing from the negroes, by whom indeed they are excelled in point of industry. To expect a representation taken from all the elements of which the population is composed, and thereby to diffuse a proportionate jurisdiction among all classes of society, would be an idle chimera. The Mestizo, Mulatto, Negro, and Indian, may indeed be called free, but nothing more. Superstition, bigotry, and ignorance, render them the dupes of their priests, who, with one eye turned towards Rome and Spain, the other towards their new rulers, have already shewn the extent of their dominion, by the establishment of the Roman Catholic faith, as the religion to which every inhabitant is bound to pay homage, and by allowing nothing more than an insecure toleration to other creeds. The dissensions, and even civil wars that are springing up in the Republics, are a clear indication of the fate which sooner or later awaits them. Sanguinary and violent in character, the Spanish race is not born for freedom: they must either subdue or be subdued. Whether the Mulattoes,

Mestizoes, Indians, or Negroes, will eventually submit to the yoke of their masters, time alone will reveal. Where, however, the latter race constitute the majority, it is to be feared that we may witness a crisis which will terminate the power of the Spanish descendants, by a catastrophe that will be a signal revenge for all the horrors committed by their ancestors.

That the present dictators, in the plenitude of their power, are not without apprehension for the future, is sufficiently obvious. To these fears, or to the desire and necessity of uniting together for the maintenance of the present order of things, the Congress of Panama, now the Congress of Mexico, is indebted for its convocation. Spain is erroneously supposed to be the occasion of this Congress, just in the same manner as ten years ago France was said to have occasioned the Holy Alliance, though the one as well as the other had ceased to be in an attitude to excite alarm.

The point of view in which the United States have to consider this Congress, is so simple and so manifest, that it does not require the intellect of a statesman, but a mere common understanding to comprehend it.

That the new Republic would not be backward

in their endeavours to engage the United States in their interest, was to be foreseen, so it was not less natural, that their invitation should be attended to, and that directions should be given to their accredited ministers already sent to the new Republics, to repair to the appointed place of meeting. Great Britain had done the same in regard to European Congresses. If, however, the President of the United States has the intention of forming an alliance with, or of putting himself at the head of the new States, a measure for the accomplishment of which preliminary steps have undoubtedly been taken (as still more forcibly appear from his message, from the tone in which he fancies himself to soar above Washington's policy, and from the enthusiastic sympathy which he seems to feel in the fate and fortunes of South America), nothing but the circumstance of having future sovereignty in view, can account for such an infatuation in a statesman, who is fully conscious, that, by pursuing it, he endangers the very Union.

When Monroe, in his message of 1823, declared "that the United States would consider any attempt on the part of the European powers to extend their system to any portion of this hemi-

sphere as dangerous to our peace and safety"—there was then every reason to apprehend an armed interference of the Holy Alliance in South American affairs. Spain, at the time alluded to, still possessed armies and strong holds on the American Continent: a timely and powerful succour on the part of the Holy Alliance, and especially of France, would have been likely to decide the contest in her favour. This is not the case at the present time. The Spanish armies are no more; they have been annihilated or taken prisoners; their fortresses are in the hands of the new States. The manly and well-timed declaration of Mr. Monroe, combined with that of England, had the desired effect of operating as a salutary check against the intentions of the Holy Alliance.

The re-conquest of the South American States by Spain, even with the assistance of the Holy Alliance, is an event no longer to be apprehended. The independence of South America is secured against Europe. The same position which was assumed by England with respect to the Holy Alliance and their Congresses, is the proper position of the United States against their antipodes, the military Republics of the

south, composed of the elements of the Spanish character. As the King of England could not have made common cause with the Powers of Europe after the fall of Napoleon, without disregarding the fundamental principles of the English constitution, so the administration of the United States cannot form closer engagements with the Republics of the south, without violating the foundation of the principle of North American liberty,—the Sovereignty of the people.

The form of these Republics, as they call themselves, is a military oligarchy. The sovereignty is not in the people, but in the government, or rather in the dictator. Sooner or later they will become monarchical: religion, education, character, all conduce to this end. The establishment of such a form of government, has only been prevented by the hatred in which the monarchical system has been hitherto held. Time and the influence of the priests will soften that hatred, and prepare the way; and if Mr. Adams, who is notorious for never having acknowledged the sovereignty of the people, is permitted to join this confederacy, the United States are most likely to reap the same effects from this

unholy compact, as the nations of Europe have experienced from their Holy Alliance. The position of the United States, in regard to foreign powers, becomes no less critical. They place themselves at the head of a union, in direct opposition to the Old World, taking part against it, and even against Great Britain, which maintains a strict neutrality. When a country embarks in a new measure of so much delicacy and hazard, it is not in its power to say how far it may or may not justly provoke a third nation to acts of hostility. How long the good understanding of these powers will continue, is uncertain; and it is very questionable whether this demonstration of arrogance, in putting themselves at the head of South American affairs, will not provoke the jealousy of Great Britain. If the United States came out of the last war with honour, they may thank their Perrys, their Bainbridges, and their Jacksons, though the miniature victories of these leaders were but a small compensation for the blows inflicted by their opponents. That the Union was not dissolved, may be ascribed to Madison. The same success cannot be expected from an administration raised by the assistance of the very party, which in the last war thought

it more to their interest to join the New England States to Canada, and to sell themselves to Great Britain, in order to save their commerce.

It is quite incomprehensible why the nation should be exposed to such dangers for the sake of an alliance with States, which were as much under the control of Monroe, as the Holy Alliance is under that of Great Britain. The United States have at no time assumed a higher station, nor spoken in a more dignified tone, than under Monroe, whose well-timed moderation was blended with a due regard to the nation's character and honour. This commanding elevation has been abandoned by the present administration for an unnatural alliance with Republics, which, from their religion, manners, and situation, must ever hate the superiority and detest the principles of the United States, and are destined by nature to become their antagonists. That the Spanish character will never harmonize with that of the descendants of the English, may be seen from the conduct of the Mexican Government. At the time when the Government of Mexico called upon the administration of the United States to fulfil the memorable pledge given by the President in his message to Con-

gress (1823), they declined to ratify a commercial treaty formed on the basis of reciprocity, because, as they candidly confessed, this treaty would prevent them from assisting their brethren of the south in case of a war. This treaty has since been concluded; but we may infer from these, and from several other vexatious proceedings of the Mexican authorities towards merchant vessels, what the United States, have to expect. A war may take place with all these new Republics; with Mexico it is inevitable, and will happen perhaps sooner than may be imagined. The present administration, by its parental care, has the merit of instructing these Republics in the secret of their strength, and of furnishing them with a pretext for exerting it. The reason why Great Britain is so highly interested in the welfare of these countries, is quite obvious; they are her natural allies against the United States, and it is consistent with her policy to foster them. But when we see the United States' Government, who are not unacquainted with the character of these people, cherishing these gigantic military Republics with so much affection, this appears to us a degree of inconsistency absolutely unpar-

donable, if we consider the *status quo* of the Southern States of the Union.

Nothing can be less solid, nothing can offer less security for the future, than the bond of the Union itself. A vast unwieldy body, held together only by motives of self-interest and of egotism.—One of the most important questions which attacks the foundation of this very egotism in its vital parts, and widens every hour more and more the distance between the Southern and the Northern States, is the possession of slaves. It is not a mere party-question; the whole population are opposed to each other, and the steps taken by the government in regard to this essential point, are watched by the southern people with a jealousy which is almost incredible. Happily for the Union four of the Presidents were citizens of Slave States, and, therefore, treated the point in question with corresponding delicacy, leaving it to time to remedy the evil. It was for this reason that the Republic of Hayti has not been acknowledged, notwithstanding the clamour of the north, which was afraid of suffering in its commercial interests by the refusal. It was argued, and not without reason, that such an acknowledgment could not but create in the

southern black population, a tendency to renew their sanguinary attempts. From the same cause, the Southern States of the Union are so adverse to an alliance with the Southern Republics, which latter are about to place all races and colours upon the same footing, for the purpose of effecting a combination of so many conflicting elements.

If Mr. Adams would have listened to the voice of the people, and acted according to their interest, he would not have produced so much excitement by his message. The minister to Mexico or Columbia could have repaired to the Isthmus, have conveyed to the assembled plenipotentiaries the assurance of friendship, and have received such communications in return, as they were pleased to make. They might also have gone charged with a solemn protest against the invasion of Cuba: these were the steps which a sound policy dictated. In this manner Spain would not have been unnecessarily offended, nor the jealousy of Great Britain excited, in a manner which is now manifesting itself: thus the system of neutrality, hitherto pursued for the welfare of the Union would not have been infringed. If, on the contrary, the President declares in his message, "that the

policy of Washington could not be applied to the present circumstances," this evasive declaration leaves but little doubt as to his deep-laid schemes. Time will prove that it is particularly to the South of America that Washington's policy ought to be applied without reserve. Those new Republics are destined to give the United States, sooner or later, more trouble than all the rest of the world put together. A wise policy would keep them at a proper distance, as long and as effectually as possible. This would have been the system dictated by wisdom, and founded on the *status quo* of the Union, on the neutrality and on the delicate situation of the Southern States.—One reflection forces itself upon the thinking observer.—When a man succeeds, as Mr. Adams has done, in placing himself at the head of affairs, it ought certainly to be expected, that he would take such conciliatory measures as were likely to heal the deep wounds inflicted upon the feelings of the nation, and by no means to proclaim sentiments which must necessarily confirm the idea that he inclined towards monarchy. This was the course naturally to be expected from a man so well versed in diplomacy, who, moreover, has the warning ex-

ample of his late father before his eyes. If the new President on the contrary, avows without disguise, in his first as well as in his last message, the intention of stretching his power to the utmost; if he does what even the Sovereign of Great Britain would not venture to do, appoint a Secretary of State, and support a man so wholly unpopular as Mr. Clay; if he dare not only to declare his intention to recede from the system hitherto pursued, but to maintain that declaration in opposition to the manifest feeling and interest of the nation; if he constitute himself the sole umpire of its internal and foreign relations, without even condescending to consult its opinion; if he assume toward the Senators and Representatives of a sovereign state, a tone befitting a monarch* only; then arises the question, whether such a man is not, *de facto*, a

* Last year a postmaster was to be appointed at Nashville. The President nominated a Mr. Erwin, a dependant of Mr. Clay. The most respectable citizens of this town, the first in rank of the State of Tennessee, collected together to the number of six hundred, and expressed their desire, through the Senator and the Representatives of the State of Tennessee, in Washington, that the appointment might be given to Mr. Currie. This petition was delivered by the Senators and Representatives of the State to the President. Mr. Adams directed the Postmaster-General to return the petition, "as a paper not proper for him to receive."

sovereign, and whether in a republic, where such things take place without resistance, the monarchical principle has not gained the ascendency? It would be under-rating Mr. Adams's talents, to presume that he is not sufficiently aware of his own strength to enforce the suggestions of a fanciful and an ambitious mind. He is now again at the head of the party which so evidently proved to the Union in 1812, that they were tired of the Republican Constitution. He renounced them at that time, because they wanted to range themselves, not under his banners, but under those of Great Britain. At present he is again in union with them; they are literally his phalanx, himself their chief. By means of this party, he has all the New England States, and part of New York and New Jersey on his side. In both these latter States, as well as in Virginia, public opinion amongst the higher classes declares itself almost openly for monarchical government. To what extent corruption and depravity have arrived in the west, the President's election has made manifest. Daily experience tells us how patiently the nation submits. What are we not to expect from a man who is endowed with a sufficient stock of calculating

prudence to wait for time and tide? The United States are approaching to a crisis which will decide whether the republican or the monarchical government is eventually to prevail. If Mr. Adams should be capable of maintaining his ground at the next election for the President's chair in 1828, then the nation may be justly said to have lost all sense of honour and of liberty, and to be sufficiently tamed for the yoke. It will then be as ripe for the blow, as the Romans were with their expiring liberty, and without any violent convulsion, Mr. Adams may pursue the measures which he and his party have prepared for his usurpation and his eventual accession to a throne. No doubt then remains about the fate of the northern divisions. Its separation from the Southern and Western States with an hereditary President, perhaps a crowned head to govern it, will be the natural consequence. The veil will be then removed, and we shall be able to discover why the same Mr. Adams, who opposed so strenuously, when Secretary of State, the acknowledgement of the South American Republics, is become at once their most enthusiastic defender at the risk of incurring the irreconcilable hatred of the Southern States of the Union.

Chapter VI.

Opposition—Randolph—Pennsylvania—The Future Election.

It would be injustice to the nation to assert that it is an indifferent spectator of these proceedings. It is fully sensible of the injury done, and the most distinguished men of the south and west, have combined to avenge it, directing their attacks against the present administration. But they have not succeeded in giving the nation a clear idea of its real situation, and of the views entertained by its present leaders: they only discover in the last election of the President, the corruption of Mr. Clay. He is the object of all their hatred, and he is treated by the members of the Opposition like the stone which the dog is eager to seize, forgetting the hand which set it in motion.—In their opinion, for the breach of trust committed by the Speaker and some of the representatives, the whole House is to be punished, and the election of President is in no case to be left to its decision. They expect in this manner to secure

themselves against any future corruption, forgetting, at the same time, that in healing a wound they spread infection through the whole system. It is with constitutions as with paper-money, the more that is added, the more it becomes depreciated in value and in credit. Whether this paper bulwark would be strong enough to resist the combined attacks of Mr. Adams and his party, is very doubtful. It is not from the form of the law of election, neither is it from the Speaker, were he even a Clay, nor from the House of Representatives, that the United States can have grounds for future fear. Clay, with all his depravity, and that of his Kentuckians, would not have effected anything with Crawford, nor even with Jackson, because they respect public opinion. The *coup d'eclat* of Mr. Clay, bears so much the character of depravity on the face of it, that it is certainly doing him too much honour to change the law of election on his account, and to make him the only object of attack. The man who answers such attacks, no matter whether made in the Senate or in the newspaper, in language both scurrilous and abusive, will have influence only in Kentucky. To the Union he is surely not dangerous; and to entertain the thought

of his being elected President is an absurdity. But to observe most rigorously the laws of decorum, and to be a strict economist, though at the expense of a poor mantua-maker; to keep the statutes inviolate, neither to ride nor to play, nor to indulge in the least pastime on a Sabbath, but to study in silent meditation how on Monday to deprive a neighbour and fellow-citizen of his property or his liberty; to be liberal towards ministers; to have no religion; not to be put out of countenance by the most sarcastic attacks of an adversary, but to wait with Christian patience, until the opportunity offers for revenge in a diplomatic style—this is what we must do if we desire to obtain a character for steadiness with brother Jonathan. Our prototype in the north is Jacob, who robbed Esau of his birthright: and in this similarity of character with the descendants of Jacob, we may find the key to the rare and sincere attachment of the northern people to so consummate a leader as Mr. Adams. The south does not admire this half-monkish, half-hebrew turn of mind; but to complete the parallel, resembles old Isaac, who in his blindness directed his whole attention to the goat-skin, if it be not improper to call Mr.

Clay by so soft a name. Thus as Jacob of yore conspired with his mother against Esau and Isaac, so Adams with his party pursue their road unmolested, and establish their empire while the spectators are thinking him a cipher or the creature of Mr. Clay.—The best and most intelligent men of the Union, and even the shrewd Randolph, have fallen into this unpardonable and dangerous error. It cannot be reconciled with sound reason to suppose, that Mr. Adams, who is superior to Mr. Clay, if not in point of talents, certainly in firmness, political foresight, and discretion, should yield to this gentleman and become his tool. How little he cared for this person, he sufficiently proved at Ghent, and when Secretary of State, by his indifference to the most sarcastic attacks upon him by Clay, then Speaker of the House. Mr. Adams, consistent as he has always been, has not changed since, and if he seems to retire for some time to the back ground, he has certainly his reasons, amongst which may be considered his endeavour to work underhand with his party, and throw most of the public odium on his Secretary.

Mr. Randolph understands, without doubt, the real situation of affairs better than any one, and

he is certainly right if he hopes nothing from an alteration in the legal enactments, and everything from the Union of both the republican parties. The existing monarchical party will not be overcome by any change in the Constitution. This result can only be effected by the union of the Democrats and Federalists, under a leader possessed of sufficient strength to oppose the current so strongly setting towards monarchy. Mr. Adams and his party perceive the dangerous consequences of this, and poor Randolph is therefore assailed in all the newspapers under their control, as a madman, a slanderer, and a calumniator. To the nation he is truly a valuable citizen; and the ardour with which he presses upon Mr. Adams and his associates, renders him a scourge to the administration. His duel with Mr. Clay and the issue of the quarrel are well known. They came to the ground: at a second discharge from Mr. Clay, Mr. Randolph reserved his fire. "Very well, Mr. Clay," said Randolph laconically, "I won't fire again, I would not have fired the first time had not my pistol gone off unawares. But you have shot a hole in my coat, you may get me another." A few days afterwards he spoke in the Senate of his

duel, "how it was brought about by the fag-end of European diplomacy coming amongst us to poison our morals with their principles, and our bodies with their French cookery eaten by candle-light." His speeches are far from being *chef d'œuvres* of oratory; he is fond of discursion, and often becomes colloquial and trivial; but after having for a time indulged his whims and entertained his friends with a variety of apparent nonsense, he throws such a volley of wit and overpowering argument into the face of his adversaries, that they look at each other in utter astonishment and confusion. His eloquence is full of sarcasm combined with good humour, with occasional flashes of genius, and he excels in hitting a point. By these qualities he commands attention to speeches of three or four hours' duration. His characteristic descriptions are true, but exhibit neither delicacy nor forbearance. Like all old bachelors, he is rather fond of painting in shadows, which he enlivens with lighter hues, and in this he may be said to be an adept, being more than sufficiently versed in the *Chronique Scandaleuse* of the Union. His independent fortune, and the character of eccentricity he has acquired, are circumstances of which he well

knows how to avail himself. For the rest, he is a rare curiosity in the class of bachelors.

With a meagre figure six feet in height, with long arms, on which the best spectacles could hardly discern an ounce of flesh, an arched forehead, a squeaking voice, at the sound of which one is inclined to close the offended organ, he is animated with a certain life and spirit which amply compensate for these defects. He is noted for being fond of slander, rather self-conceited, fond of talking for a great length of time, like all bachelors, particularly if wealthy Virginia planters. As a Senator of the United States, he is very popular, and deservedly enjoys the regard paid to him by the unprejudiced majority of his fellow-citizens.

The principal step, however, hitherto taken against the present administration, was adopted by Pennsylvania, with a firmness which proves this State to be still animated by the same principles of justice and liberty, as it was in the year 1801, when it rose for the preservation of its rights against the administration of the President John Adams the first. The delegates of the State assembled the 4th of April, 1826, in Harrisburgh, to propose to their fellow-citizens

a candidate for the appointment of governor. They unanimously re-elected Mr. Andrew Shulze. The transaction being thus concluded, the delegates were at liberty to return to their homes. But they considered that so fair an opportunity of declaring their opinion of the present administration ought not to be lost; they framed two resolutions, which passed by a majority of ninety-eight votes to seven: the first expressing their disapprobation of the election of Adams, and of the present administration of the United States; the second was a virtual nomination of General Andrew Jackson for the next Presidency (in 1828). To the administration these proceedings were a blow as severe as it had been unforeseen, the more so as Tennessee, scarcely four months after Mr. Adams's election, had also nominated Mr. Jackson for the ensuing Presidency.

The question is now, whether the State of Virginia has sufficient republican strength left to induce it to sacrifice the monopoly which it has hitherto exercised. From this State, and from the family of Adams, the six Presidents have been chosen. The ordinary road to this office was considered to be through that of the Secre-

tary of State, as the road to the latter is the embassy to London, Paris, or St. Petersburgh, all of which were obtained through relationship or a close connexion with the President. Thus the first magistracy has become in a certain degree a family fief, and through the family of Adams, is likely to change into a monarchy, and through Virginia, into an oligarchy. The offices depending upon the administration, were beset either with the friends of the Adams's family, or by the followers of the Virginia party. This was and is the case with supreme judges, with post-masters, collectors of sea-ports, &c. The rest of the States, though not entirely excluded, had but little share in the administration: this is now on the eve of alteration. Mr. Jackson is neither Secretary of State, nor a friend to either party; he is, as it were, a *novus homo*, who, to speak the truth, has neither pleased the Virginians nor the Tories. Whether Virginia will be so magnanimous as to give up her hitherto exercised privilege for the sake of the general liberty, and to join a party through which her influence over the administration is likely to suffer, is the great question, upon the determination of which the freedom of the people most unquestionably de-

pends. If Virginia, to preserve her presidental monopoly, should try again to form a party of her own at the next election, then Mr. Adams will certainly succeed, and the foundation of a monarchical government will thus be laid. If Virginia and Georgia should unite with Pennsylvania, not only the republican party may be considered as triumphant, but the preponderance of their principles, under the guidance of Jackson, will necessarily produce a reform, and a salutary riddance of that evil, which, during the course of fifty years, has eaten into the very heart of the Union.

Chapter VII.

Major-General Andrew Jackson.

Never, perhaps, has public opinion been so divided about any man as it is about General Jackson. Whilst the one party (Adams's) describes him as a tyrant, a military chieftain, a lawless soldier, the other represents him as a hero surpassing Washington himself. He is at the head of the Opposition, and the ruling power has, therefore, as much reason to depreciate him, as his own party has to extol him to the skies.

The first view of Andrew Jackson is imposing, but the impression he leaves is not an agreeable one. A stature above the common size; a body which fatigues and hardships have cleared of all superfluous flesh; a physiognomy indicating violent passions; a face furrowed by deep lines; a grayish piercing eye bespeaking less of shrewdness than of impetuosity, and which age has not robbed of its fire; these, with a tincture of Irish cunning, are the peculiarities that distinguish the present hero of the Opposition. He lost his

father in early life, and was thrown, when an orphan of fourteen, into the vortex of the revolutionary war. Having been taken prisoner, he rescued himself with a firmness of purpose, seldom to be met with at his age. His predilection for a military life may be dated from this early period. Shortly afterwards he gave himself up to the study of the law: a curious incident laid the foundation of his fame. On a journey from his residence to a distant county-town, where the quarter sessions of the court were to be held, he met a farmer, whose sorrowful countenance seemed to indicate that his affairs bore a no less sorrowful aspect. By his natural power of persuasion, he soon learned the cause of the farmer's grief—a hopeless lawsuit—Jackson inquired more particularly into the matter, and asked his companion if he would permit him to plead his cause. The farmer, casting a side glance at Jackson's wretched pony, and at the still more wretched rider, expressed his disbelief of his power to be useful in this case, adding, that the first-rate lawyers could not give him any hope: but at last he consented. The issue of the trial was at hand; the farmer's counsel was pleading; the counsel of the opposite party as well as the

jury were about to retire. "Stop gentlemen," exclaimed our young lawyer presenting himself at the bar in front of the presiding judge, and exhibiting his license: he was allowed to plead accordingly. In less than fifteen minutes he succeeded in rivetting the attention of the judges, jury, and assembly, all equally astonished at the forcible address of a peasant, who made his first appearance dressed in a home-made coat, with a linen bag thrown over his shoulders containing provisions for himself and his horse. The jury retired, the verdict was pronounced, the farmer recovered his property, and the young lawyer gained a name and clients. He was afterwards appointed President-Judge of the Quarter Sessions, which station he filled with honour to himself, though he resigned it at a later period, as well as other offices which he then held. His military passion led him to take the command of a body of militia destined against the Indians. The character of a war with these tribes is well known, and though, perhaps, insignificant in the eye of an European general, it is so full of dangers and hardships, that none but those who have travelled through the backwoods, the scenes of such wars, can form any competent idea of their nature. Only

an American can bear these fatigues, and follow an enemy through swamps and trackless woods, who is seen and disappears at the same moment, and is close at the heels of his foe when supposed to be far distant. The Indian never attacks in the open field, thinking it the greatest folly to expose himself. To do this, even should he vanquish his enemy face to face, would rather subject him to degradation in the eyes of his brethren, than be productive of glory to him. Concealed behind trees, or under cover of bushes and rocks, these people send forth their deadly weapons, or fire at their foes. If they have not the shelter of a cavern, they throw themselves down in the grass, and are thus hidden from view. Their food consists of the Calabash and a bundle of maize flour; their weapons are the tomahawk, and now generally a gun. They travel with surprising swiftness through forty or fifty miles of country; they prefer making nightly attacks, and in this kind of warfare they are exceedingly expert. It is a well-known fact, that in one of the recent wars, the nation of the Sioux travelled above three hundred miles in order to surprise their enemies, who, fancying themselves secure, were off their guard: few

escaped the tomahawk. Jackson knew the character of his opponents, and fought them in their own way. After an unwearied pursuit from one lurking place to another, he found them at last, and forced them to a stand. During one of these pursuits the brigadier and his corps fell short of provisions; most of the troops murmured, not excepting the officers, and all desired to return home. Jackson, informed of this discontent, sent his officers an invitation to breakfast with him on the following day. Surprised at such an invitation, the officers made their appearance at the hour appointed, their curiosity much excited by the projected entertainment. A great quantity of acorns were spread on the floor of the hut, which was formed of branches; the general was seated on the ground. When his guests entered, he rose, and pointing to the acorns, civilly said to them, "Gentlemen, as long as we have these we have no reason to complain of want of food: let us sit down." Without further ceremony he resumed his place, and began to eat this strange repast. The officers made many wry faces, but were obliged to munch the acorns as no roast beef was to be had.

Jackson's perseverance was crowned with suc-

cess: he charged the Indians, and put them to flight. On another occasion, part of his troops made serious preparations to return home. Jackson instantly summoned his officers, and selected such troops as he could rely upon; he then ordered a line to be formed, declaring, at the same time, that those who would attempt to desert him should be summarily shot. His arbitrary conduct on this and other occasions, is severely censured, not only by his enemies, but even by his impartial friends. If General Jackson compelled his men to remain with him after their term of service had expired, this act can by no means be justified. Deficient as the militia regulations may be, so long as they are not altered by a legal enactment, no general whatever has a right to strain the military duty of any citizen beyond its bounds. The serious mischief resulting to the commonwealth from such a violation of the liberty of a citizen, cannot be counterbalanced by the most splendid victories. There is as little excuse for his conduct towards Governor Troup of Georgia: but if in this instance he abused his power, and that he did is beyond a doubt, why was he not arraigned? Why vindicate him publicly from the accusation, thereby approving of his conduct?

In this case, the circumstance that since the time of the revolutionary war, he had been almost the only one who eventually humbled the Indians and inspired them with greater respect for the United States, even this should not have pleaded in his favour.

On the breaking out of the last war with Great Britain, we find Jackson holding the rank of Major-general at the military station of New Orleans, the capital of Louisiana. Before the British effected a landing in Louisiana, he had chastised the Seminola Indians, who were instigated to hostilities against the United States. He had taken Pensacola, and, after a feeble resistance, put the Spanish troops to flight, together with the civil and military authorities of the the place, and returned with the rapidity of an eagle to New Orleans.

The war against Great Britain was carried on as might have been expected from so discordant a body, whose unwieldy mass was directed by nineteen different heads. Washington was burnt; the Tories declared against the war, and even against the government, and the Union was on the brink of dissolution. In a city mostly inhabited by foreigners of a doubtful character, Jack-

son fancied himself surrounded by traitors, and thought it incumbent upon him to secure his post. He proclaimed martial law as soon as the British landed in the State of Louisiana. The inhabitants of this State are not considered by the rest of the Union in the most favourable light. Louisiana is looked upon as a property acquired by purchase, in regard to which everything is allowable: the conduct of Jackson was in accordance with this notion. The Creoles, eager to prove themselves worthy their newly-acquired citizenship, freely made Jackson an offer of their own services, of their slaves, and of their property for the defence of their country. Jackson accepted these offers with the indiscreet *hauteur* of a man in power. As long as the legislature was sitting, he allowed the inhabitants to pursue their business without molestation, but no sooner had the Assembly adjourned, than he civilly requested those subject to military duty either to form a corps, or to take officers' commissions. When they protested against this, he sent a company of soldiers as the shortest way of putting an end to all resistance.

Towards foreigners he acted in a still more summary manner. There were about fifty French-

men of distinction at this time in New Orleans, who were invited to take up arms against the invader. They declined the invitation, alleging in excuse, the peace concluded and ratified between Great Britain and France, and called his attention to the fate which would await them if they should be taken prisoners. "Well, Gentlemen, you must either fight or quit the city, for we have no occupation for such as you; it is not the time for courting and making love now." This was Jackson's reply; and without further ceremony they were conveyed to Natchez, three hundred miles above New Orleans. One of the most respectable foreigners refused to quit the town, or even to fight, giving as a reason that he had no landed property. "But you have cotton," replied Jackson. "Yes Sir." "How many bales?" "About three thousand." "Well, Sir, if you will not help us to kill our enemies, you will not refuse to assist in protecting us." The merchant not understanding the meaning of these aphorisms, Jackson explained them by taking a thousand bales. Hesitation was of no avail. The thousand bales were afterwards returned to the owner. The bashful Creole was astounded at this conduct, which did not savour much of republi-

canism, and the foreigner had no remedy. But these arbitrary proceedings did not succeed with his fellow-citizens. Jackson caused one of them who refused to comply with his orders to be arrested without a warrant. Judge N—— set him at liberty. Jackson, in return, had them both arrested and imprisoned. At the restoration of peace he was arraigned before the court, tried and sentenced to a fine of two thousand dollars. The inhabitants of New Orleans generously offered to pay it for him. "Gentlemen, I have sinned, and must bear the punishment," was Jackson's reply. There is in him a strange association of arbitrary violence united to republican equality. The same person who could act in a manner approaching to tyranny against Tories, and persons whose patriotism admits of doubt, treats the poorest militia-man as his equal. —One of his neighbours, a Tennesee farmer, who came with the troops from that State, wished to speak to him. He was introduced, and Jackson walking up to him, desired him to sit down, and ordered two glasses of brandy. They drank to each other's health, and of course destruction to the invaders. "Well, Joe, what brings you to me?"—"General, I wish you would let me go

home again." "And why dear boy?"—"Why, they always call me Nasty Joe, and you know I cannot bear nicknames; but to tell you the truth I want to see what my wife and my family are doing." "Well, Joe, then we will go together." "Why, General, what do you mean?" "You know, Joe, they used to call me Hickory *, and like you, I am tired of nicknames, and to tell you the truth, I want also to see how things are going on in old Tennessee." "Why, General, you cannot leave your station you know." "Yes, that is true; but can you Joe?" Joe scratching his head was for a moment silent. "Well, Joe," concluded Jackson, "I will tell you what we will do, we will stay here awhile, and after we have done our duty we will return together, and let them have the satisfaction of calling us what names they please." Joe seemed satisfied, and went away.

Of the two protestant ministers in New Orleans, a Mr. Hull is particularly distinguished. He is by birth an Irishman, and is said to have made himself remarkable during the troubles

* Hickory a nickname, or rather a favourite appellation given to General Jackson, by his friends as well as by his enemies.

of his native country; at all events he is looked upon as a clever man, and possessed of much sound sense. He payed a visit to General Jackson, who accosted him on entering, thus:—"I don't presume you will go with us to fight the enemy?" "Why not, General, if you will take me along with you?" "How could you help us, dear black coat?" "Why you know I have had some rencontres with the red coats, and perhaps I could be of some use to you." "Well, I am going to take a ride to the lines, you may come along with me; have you a horse?" "No, Sir."—"Bill," cried the General, "get Beelzebub saddled for the parson!"—And with judgment and discretion, which did equal honour to his understanding and to his republican sense, he availed himself of the counsels of the rector, which, as I was assured by several respectable people, proved to be neither superfluous nor unserviceable.

A company of militia-men wanted to return home two days before the attack, their time of service having expired. Jackson was apprized of their intention, and ordered them to form in line of battle. "Gentlemen," said he, "you are not going to leave us now?" "Yes, General, our

time of service has expired." "Well," exclaimed the General, advancing a few steps, "Attention! Shoulder! March!" A company of riflemen posted with fixed bayonets and loaded muskets in their rear, left them no choice of the road they were to take, and they moved on in silence towards the batteries.

The result of the attack on the 8th of January, is well known, but it is to be hoped that two nations equally united by the common ties of blood and interest, will never more be engaged against each other in a destructive war. The more unexpected the fortunate result of this contest, the greater was the joy of the inhabitants and of the whole nation. From this day Jackson became the man of the people.

He afterwards repeatedly fought and routed the Indians, and compelled them to agree to the terms prescribed. His quarrel with Governor Troup of Georgia, and the atrocious execution of Arbuthnot and of his companion occurred about this time. The legislature of his own State, Tennessee, appointed him a senator of Congress, and afterwards in 1827, he was nominated by that State a candidate for the Presi-

dency and supported by others. During the contest and election, he behaved in an upright and dignified manner, taking no particular steps to secure his election and bearing his subsequent disappointment and the success of Adams, with a calmness of mind little expected of him. He returned with his lady to his plantation, two miles from Nashville, where he is respected by his fellow-citizens, and leads an independent life upon an annual income of ten thousand dollars: he has since resigned the senatorial chair.

According to the assurance of well-informed and impartial persons, the prospect he had at first entertained of being elected President of the Union, and his subsequent disappointment, have wrought a change in this man which almost exceeds belief. The lawless and rude soldier is metamorphosed into the cheerful, dignified, and hospitable veteran. His soul is elevated by the consciousness that he is the champion of the liberties of his country. There is no doubt, that the unsparing attacks of political opponents, have contributed not a little to his present forbearance and dignified composure.

That a man of so determined a character as

Jackson, must necessarily have many enemies is natural; the assertion that, had it been in his power, he would have caused all the members of the Hartford convention to be hanged, was alone sufficient to justify the animosity of his enemies. His most ardent friends have many reasons for wishing to obliterate the recollection of his conduct at New Orleans towards Arbuthnot, and on several other occasions: these are stains upon his character, which no subsequent efforts for his country can remove; and they prevented not only the most distinguished men, but even whole States from joining him in the year 1824.

Whether this political delicacy will again prevail, or whether the Federalists and Democrats will be convinced that Jackson, though violent in his youth and in his maturer years, cannot be dangerous to their peace and safety when upwards of seventy, the year 1828 will teach us. The people of the United States can never have anything to fear from men of Jackson's character. This Republic is not French, and an 18th Brumaire, would fail of success. If Jackson should ever lend himself to any acts of violence, he

would assuredly be punished for it. The republican principles which the citizen of the United States has inherited from his father—his free constitution and his own good sword—secure him alike from the sudden attempts of ambitious revolutionists. These barriers cannot, however, secure him from the pernicious fruits of European diplomacy, which, fostered and ripened at St. Petersburgh and Paris, those hot-beds of Machiavelism, infect his principles with their poison, seduce his representatives to crimes approaching to high-treason, and, by extinguishing party-spirit, bear down all opposition. If the springs of that diplomacy can be continued in operation, the nation will be forced into a dilemma, out of which it will be unable to extricate itself, and will then consider an hereditary ruler a public benefit.—It is neither the hero of New Orleans, nor his personal character that ought to influence the republican parties in the election of 1828: political principles alone should be the *sine qua non* in their future President. If these are such in Jackson as to qualify him for a leader and organ, they ought to choose him, so long as he is faithful to them. That he never will abuse his power

nor plunge the Union into a war with Great Britain, his age is a security; what the nation on the contrary has to fear from Adams, its present situation with respect to Great Britain teaches. The republican parties are for the preservation of peace; those of Adams for future wars, for which they are making preparations in as far as they augment the navy, and assume a tone which finally must produce the apprehended result—Even if Jackson should be inclined to abuse his power he will not be able. The ascendency will not be with him, but with the two republican parties, the Democrats and the Federalists, and the extent of influence he may enjoy, must depend entirely upon them: without the aid of both parties, were he even President, he would be powerless. Adams himself would not be dangerous without the aid of his Tories. Against this man, Jackson is and must be the counterpoise, and we are firmly convinced, that he is at present the only individual in the Union who can apply a remedy to the existing evils. The rays of political depravity which have been scattered over the United States ever since their political existence, are now drawing to a focus;

the nation is on the eve of a crisis, and the year 1828 will decide whether this people, after the lapse of another quarter of a century, will be still free and united citizens, or divided and obsequious subjects.

Chapter VIII.

The Congress—Electioneering—The Honourables.

A GLANCE at the Congress of the United States, will solve the mystery of the last election. This Congress is composed of so many States, varying in degrees of civilization, that an infinite diversity and contradiction in the views of the honourable members must be the necessary consequence when assembled in Congress. The cunning literate Yankee, the adventurous New Yorker, the simple and honest Pennsylvanian, the aristocratic Virginian, the proud Carolinian and Geōrgian, have the same language with the unfeeling and presumptuous Kentuckian, but not the same views. Their manner of speaking, the course they pursue to attain their ends, are, *toto cælo*, different. The first interest with every member of the Congress is of course his own; the station of a representative is to be the stepping-stone to a permanent office. His second object is to promote the views of his party; the next, the interest of his county, then

of the particular State to which he belongs, and, finally, that of the nation. A central point of union could hardly be expected amidst so many conflicting objects. The interests of the different States clash in such a manner as not to admit of a steady aim, such as is exhibited by the British Parliament. The latter consists of Whigs and Tories, whereas the Congress of the United States, is an assembly of brokers, sent by their respective States not to promote the welfare of the Union; but of their own mean and sordid interests. One is expected to bring the turnpike through his county, another a canal, a third is to procure a lighthouse, a fourth an academy, or a deaf and dumb asylum. These are the important affairs committed to the representatives: if they succeed, messenger-like, in the execution of their errands, they are called "excellent fellows." The administration of course avails itself of these opportunities, does all in its power to meet the wishes of its "honourables" in matters of such vital interest, and is rewarded by corresponding good offices in return. The Congress has precisely the appearance of an exchange, where every one manages his own business to the best of his understanding, without troubling himself much

about the affairs of his neighbours, until his own are terminated.—Men of talents are not wanting in the Senate as well as in the House of Representatives, who might vie with the very first members even of the British Parliament, certainly not in point of education and learning, but unquestionably in shrewdness.

Webster, Everett, Hamilton, M'Duffie, Livingston, Sergeant, Randolph, are deservedly celebrated names; but as a set-off to such men of genius, there are such men as Vance from Ohio, Mr. Trimble from Kentucky, and most of his western brethren. The well-informed members of Congress are generally from the New England States and the sea-ports; the most impudent and presumptuous the Kentuckians: these are now hand in glove with the party of the administration. In opposition to this party are the Virginians and Georgians, both Carolinas, Pennsylvania, part of New York, Ohio, Indiana, &c.

A person desirous of becoming well acquainted with his own character and of repenting of sins, over which ten and more years have thrown the veil of oblivion, and of reviving them in his memory, may present himself as a candidate for Congress,

or any other station of importance. As soon as his name appears in the newspapers, followed by an address to his fellow-citizens, and an explanation of his merits and his principles, the notes of the counter-party are at hand, generally worded in well-meant letters to the editor, subscribed by the popular signatures of a Democrat, a friend to his country, or the more classic names of Cimon, Aristides, &c. If a candidate happen to have lived in another State, his well-meaning friends of the opposite party are not slow in drawing from thence all the information which they may think worthy of public notice. If his family connexions be not very extensive, then, after having had his transgressions sounded throughout the Union, he is defeated; this however does not disturb his peace of mind. The election expenses cannot be compared with those of a member of the British House of Commons; for the sum of five thousand pounds, one might easily purchase the representative seats of a whole State! Instead of squandering money, of which we are too fond to throw it away for the ambitious purpose of corrupting our honest fellow-citizens, we indulge in a little slander. We have our negotiators as in Great Britain, but

they are not so much trusted, because we trust nobody. All they have in their power to give, is a pair of shoes, an imitation beaver hat, or the like. The extravagancies in which the English are said to indulge, such as the payment of five guineas for a canary-bird, or ten for a dish of greens to the wife of a freeholder, would be deemed shameful in our honest country! We are indeed much too steady to imitate so bad an example! The utmost we give are dinners, with plenty of whisky and brandy for gentlemen and those we think worthy, and a treat, as we usually call it, for the other "*Sovereigns*," at some tavern; this consists of genuine whisky, in the proportion of two barrels for a county, at the rate of three pounds for both barrels. The highest expenses we incur, are with our newspapers, and these are said to be enormous; for two inches square we have to pay a dollar: of course a column often amounts to four or five dollars. True it is, that the honest editors make ample compensation to us for this expense, by laying open and explaining our adversary's faults in such a way, that Hogarth, had he lived amongst us, would not have found it necessary to visit ginshops and the haunts of vice, our

newspapers would have furnished sufficient matter whereupon to establish his name. Brother Jonathan is known to carry his inquiries very far, and even into the privacy of families; and if the lady of a would-be honourable, in some States, does not happen to wash her husband's and children's linen, and make their clothes, he is assuredly undone; he has no claim to popularity; he is a proud man, a Federalist, a Tory, and heaven knows what besides. This is pretty much our mode from the Alleghany Mountains to St. Louis, north of the Ohio. In cities the case is rather different. In general the Americans of German descent suffer most—the negotiators sent to them, have their hands most unfettered. The majority of these honest people, though living and amongst Anglo-Americans, for the second and third generation, can neither read nor write the English language. Passive under a kind of self-satisfied ignorance which never consents to learn more than their forefathers, and adhering to their axiom never to become Irish (thus they designate the Anglo-Americans who take the revenge by nicknaming them the Dutch), they are contented with their own German idiom. This they know sufficiently to

enable them to spell one chapter of the Bible on a Sabbath-day: this book and the Baltimore Almanac constitute their library. If any of them take a newspaper, it is a German one. These German productions are the poorest things imaginable; the style, the diction, the printing, the paper, are all beneath censure. The negotiators have an easy game to play with these simple people, and accordingly mislead them from their true interest. Respected as they deservedly are for their industry and perseverance (for there is not the least distinction made between Anglo and German Americans), they never seek the company of their American fellow-citizens, and can have no opportunity of making acquaintance with those who are best calculated to promote their welfare.

The last election for Alleghany, County Pennsylvania sufficiently shewed how far these good people were behind their fellow-citizens in this respect. The united Counties of Alleghany, Buttler, Armstrong, and Beaver, are entitled to send two members to the House of Representatives: one of these gentlemen, Mr. S——, had resigned. Of the two persons who announced themselves as candidates, Colonel O——

was the most popular, General S—— the most intelligent. The former, a young man of from thirty-six to thirty-eight years of age, had served as a captain of militia in the last campaign, and by means of aunts and uncles, and no small portion of artifice, he succeeded in rendering himself so popular, that he was chosen member of the Assembly at Harrisburgh, Colonel of the Militia, and Senator of the State of Pennsylvania. In this capacity he was thought so passive, as not to startle at any contradiction, and he was therefore justly beloved by his fellow members, because he never interfered with their interests or their views. His rival, General S——, on the contrary, was a man of talents, connected with some of the leading men at Washington and Philadelphia; he was well acquainted with the interests of Western Pennsylvania, and offered himself with the full conviction, that, under the present circumstances, he alone should be chosen, if the voters understood what was for their own good: the result ought certainly to have been in his favour. The neighbouring Sister States, animated by the friendliest intentions, are endeavouring each one according to its means, New York by her Great Canal, Virginia

by the Chesapeak and Ohio Canal, and Ohio by the Cleveland Canal, to cut off the trade of Pennsylvania in an indirect way. The moment is urgent, and nothing but a canal, uniting the Susquehanah with the Ohio, or a rail-road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, will protect its trade from ruin. These were certainly important reasons why these counties should choose such a member of Congress as would be likely to promote their interests. Unfortunately, General S—— was proud, in the German sense of the word; he did not like to dress in worn-out or home-made clothes, or to stop at every tavern and drink bad whisky to the health of every peasant: he accordingly failed in each of the four counties. On an electioneering excursion to the county town of Beaver, he stopped at the house of one of the most influential freeholders. This old farmer was very near being brought to the gallows under old Adams, owing to the sedition laws then in operation, and he had since this time sworn deadly enmity to every Federalist. After having alighted from his gig, the General entered the house, seated himself of course with his hat on, according to the true republican style, without speaking a word or

waiting for permission. This was all very well, and the farmer seemed pleased with his new guest. General S——, after a pause, inquired "How far do you call it to B——?" "Twenty miles," was the reply. "That is too far for me to-night, don't you know where I could stop and get a night's lodging?" "Your manner of asking," replied the gloomy farmer sullenly, "is rather short and in an imperious tone. I guess you are one of these G—d d—d Federalists?" "Why d—d?" gently replied General S——? "Then you are certainly one of them!" vociferated the old man, opening the door at the same time, and leaving him no other choice than to get back to his gig and return home. In a few hours the story was spread all over the county, the General was laughed at, and Colonel O—— was elected almost unanimously, without doing anything more than treating the German peasants with whisky, and speaking to them of their horses, their cattle, or their corn, and dressing in clothes that had been worn by his grandfather. The German population of the two other counties were gained over by a promise to this effect: "If you help us this time, we shall give you the next chance." It availed the General nothing that he

obtained the majority in Pittsburgh and Alleghany county. The result was such as may be anticipated; the counties have no canal—but the House of Representatives has one drowsy member more. This is very much the way in which the honourables are elected, particularly in those counties peopled by descendants from Germans, or where these people constitute the majority of voters. They never fail to select among the candidates the man of the meanest understanding, and thus the term of honest German is almost become synonymous with stupid German.

This prevalent spirit of democracy no doubt does very well in an enlightened State; but if a person is to be elected for no better reason than that he is a potter or a carpenter, or for his having the manners of a journeyman, it shows a poverty of understanding which provokes our contempt. These very errors in the mode of electing their representatives, are the causes why the State of Pennsylvania is so much neglected, and its interests so little attended to. It possesses neither the influence of the New England nor of the Western and Southern States, which, although democratic, are not so far advanced in their predilection for these principles,

as to send none but tradesmen to Congress. No wonder then that some worthies are to be found among the representatives of the middle States, who, to the no small scandal of the more fashionable imitators of the British House of Commons, are economical enough to send home, in a truly republican manner, their dirty linen and worn-out pantaloons franked by the mail; the linen to be returned to Washington by the same conveyance, the clothes to be altered by their honourable ladies into second-hand trowsers for the offspring of the parsimonious representative.

As soon as one of the members of Congress opens his mouth, you may tell to what part of the Union he belongs. The more literate Yankee borrows from Shakspeare and Byron, blundering through both these and other authors, in order to embellish the offspring of his genius. Should restitution be demanded of one of these honourables, as once the Peacocks are said to have reclaimed their own from the Jackdaw, we should stand a chance of witnessing a still more lamentable scene. The Kentuckian (Mr. Trimble) swears "By G—d," and "may heaven's lightning blast him if he meant any more, and he hoped that the calumniator and perjured

felon (meaning Mr. M'Duffie) he has described, may be delivered over to heaven's hangman, to scourge the rascal naked round the horizon of heaven's circumference." The poor Ohian (Vance) tells us, "that he came from the very lowest orders of society," and giving us a specimen of lamentation, leaves us uncertain whether he is not attempting to raise a subscription for himself. The proud Georgian speaks of violated rights and civil war, because he is not permitted to drive the poor Indians into the wildernesses of Oregan. The Carolinian declares that he is going to live and to die with his slaves, while the Pennsylvanian, quietly seated on his bench, seems to be perfectly astounded and perplexed by the wisdom, energy, good sense, learning, and elegance of his honourable brethren. Each is heard to speak in a manner corresponding with his education, and according to his degree of intelligence.

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Chapter IX.

Literature—Literary Institutions—Education—Libraries—Newspapers.

The literature of the United States of North America, compared with the progress in political importance, is in its infancy. It has taken its general features from the literature of Europe, although essentially differing in many respects. It is often new, and sometimes original. Although the offspring of England, it confines itself within its own limits, taking an interest in the literature of other countries, only so far as it is allied to its own. The American literati are deficient in the elegant, the polished, and the classical taste of English writers; they are equally strangers to the systematic pedantry of the Germans, who know every part of the world except their own country—but in the art of a practical application of their knowledge, they probably excel both England and Germany. The American universities, contrasted with those of Europe, may, perhaps, be called compendiums of instruc-

tion. Men of learning, natives as well as foreigners, are not wanting amongst them, but they are generally too impatient, too egotistical, to apply the necessary time to study the speculative sciences. If the American visit a college, he does it not to improve his talents, but to make money as speedily as possible: he wants to learn quickly, and only to acquire what is absolutely necessary. Satisfied with the elements of science, he supplies the rest by private reading, by experience, and by natural shrewdness. This may explain the reason why there is even in their men of superior genius, so strange a mixture of learning and home-breeding, if I may so express myself, so much light thrown upon still more shadow, so much wit and shrewdness with such little logic and philosophy. The American seldom gives his attention to any science that is not likely to be conducive to a livelihood: to "make money" is the object, to which every other is subservient. Philosophy he leaves to the clergy, poetry to the ladies, and if any unfortunate should happen to wander into these fanciful regions, he is very likely to starve, unless he expatriates himself, or is provided with a sufficient income. The Boston bard was actually

exposed to this danger, had he not very lately been relieved by subscriptions. These occupations are looked upon as idle pursuits. The American takes an interest only in politics, law, mathematics, and, perhaps, in medical science. His progress in the three former is well known, and these sciences have become popular; an American being generally more or less versed in politics, in the law, and in mathematics. Here his talents are truly astonishing, and men who would be reckoned an ornament to any country, are principally indebted, for what they are, to their own exertions. As long as the United States remain free, and we hope they may long continue so, they will doubtless produce great men in these sciences. In modern times, music, poetry, and philosophy, have been more especially fostered in monarchies, and are not likely to flourish in the United States, amidst the bustle of mercantile and public life, as they were wont to do in the delightful regions of Greece and of Italy. This kind of mental activity not being calculated for "*making money*," will never become popular, and the very men who in later periods have distinguished themselves in polite learning, are justly supposed to be more or less inclined to monarchy.

Among the literary institutions, the academy at Westpoint deserves particular mention. All the branches adapted to military science and to the sea and land service, are taught there with a degree of perfection seldom to be met with in any other country. Astronomy, geography, universal history, and more particularly the history of the United States, theoretical and practical mathematics, are explained in the utmost perfection, and young men are educated there who would reflect honour on any country. The professors are natives of the Union, and foreigners: the pupils must not be above twenty-one years of age, nor under fifteen, all American born. The institution is maintained by the central government, and the vacancies are filled up by the President.

The principal universities are those of Harward at Charlestown, and of New York, and Philadelphia. The Universities of Athens in Ohio, and the Transylvanian University of Lexington, have nothing more than high-sounding names to recommend them. Great expectations are entertained from the new-established Virginian University, the last proof of the indefatigable activity of the great Jefferson; besides the

study of the regular sciences, there has been established a course of lectures on the best principles of government and on the Anglo-Saxon language.

Among the northern colleges, those of Dartmouth and Bowdoin in the New England States, Carlisle and Meadville in Pennsylvania, and Beardstown in Kentucky, &c., deserve to be mentioned. The elementary books in these colleges, are extracts from English works and literary magazines, in which, for the sake of economy, the most heterogeneous subjects are huddled together: sometimes not less than twenty different studies in literature, belles lettres, philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, navigation, physic, &c. It would be in vain to seek for profound knowledge in these works.

Academies, at which grammatical reading and writing, mathematics, geography, history, and Latin are taught, are now established throughout New England, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, in the different county-towns of these States; and these may be considered, with the free-schools, as the chief resorts of the great body of American youths. Universities, colleges, and academies, have their presidents, vice-presi-

dents, and rectors, who are regularly appointed, and have from five hundred to two thousand dollars a year. The temporal affairs of these institutions are carried on and inspected gratuitously by a board of trustees with a president at their head. Their funds are raised either from grants of lands, from donations, or from assignments made by the government, and from private subscriptions. In the new States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, &c., the central government has taken care to provide for public instruction; the thirty-sixth part of every township being assigned for public schools, and a whole township of twenty-three thousand acres for the university of each State. These appropriations, being woodlands, yield as yet little or nothing, there being no settlers to improve them.

Free-schools are now established in the New England States, New York, New Jersey, and partly in the other States. The children of the poor and the wealthy, here receive alike a gratuitous education. They are instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and the history of the Union. The instruction is the more solid, as the teachers have to undergo an examination previously to their appointment: the ex-

penses are defrayed by a tax, laid on all the inhabitants whether married or single. It is to these schools that the Northern States are so much indebted for their mental improvement, and for a diffusion of knowledge, superior, perhaps, to that of any other people. In the year 1825, an attempt was made to introduce similar schools into the State of Pennsylvania, to enable her to keep pace with her more advanced Sister States. The executive moved the question, which being seconded by the legislature, the plan was communicated to the counties, but failed in those where the German population constitute the majority. Every endeavour to bring these *honest* people to reason proved unavailing. "Why," exclaimed they in their own idiom, "our gentlemen would have us again pay a tax for the purpose of establishing offices, which we would then have the further expense of maintaining, and our own mother tongue would go for nothing; we won't do that: and we see the effects of learning in the Yankee tricks, the forging of bank-notes, and in the natural consequence, the gallows!" Who does not observe in the tenor of this language, the filial ties which, notwithstanding a distance of four thousand miles, and their American birth,

still bind these people to his apostolic Majesty, to whom this fatal learning seems to be equally obnoxious.

Private schools in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and those States where free-schools are not introduced, are good or bad according to the greater or less capacity of their teachers, whose condition in many cases is such, that, compared with it, the fate of the schoolmaster in Old Mortality is truly enviable.

The instruction given in Sunday-schools is well meant but inefficient. These institutions are, however, highly creditable to the feelings of the Americans, who display in splendid colours, on this as well as on other occasions, their humanity and their respect for their poor fellow-citizens. The unremitting zeal and patience which the most respectable ladies and gentlemen bestow on the instruction of the poorest children, deserve the highest praise.

It may be presumed that in a country where so much attention is paid to the fair sex, and where it must be allowed that, generally speaking, they are so well entitled to it, proper attention is paid to their education. The female wholly destitute of learning, is seldom to be met

with in the United States, and if there are any, they will be found among the Irish emigrants, or the Creoles of Louisiana. The wealthy families usually send their daughters to boarding-schools at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore. The price of the first class, is from four to six hundred dollars a year, for board and lodging, independently of tuition, which amounts (every item included) to two hundred dollars more. The instruction comprehends, writing, reading, mathematics, drawing, painting, geography, astronomy, history, the French and Italian languages, singing, the pianoforte, and the harp. The prevailing custom of introducing the pupils once or twice a week into the society of good families, essentially contributes to the improvement of their manners.

Paintings and drawings are executed by these fair scholars which would often do honour to a master; and there is a map of the State of New York, drawn by Miss R., which is deemed superior to the best extant. The distance from which these young ladies come, is sometimes above two thousand miles, being sent from Louisiana, and Missisipi. As there is, however, no light without shade, these schools have their drawbacks. The assem-

blage of so many ladies in one establishment, fashionable society, and French teachers, all contribute, not unfrequently, to make young ladies so immaturely wise, that we cannot help wishing for a more private education.

From this short sketch it may be seen that there are more ample means provided for popular than for literary information. The free-schools are, throughout, better adapted to their objects than the universities and scientific institutions, Westpoint excepted. This ought, however, to be the case in a free country. Wherever, the mass of the people constitute the sovereign power, light ought to be diffused through the whole body. The universities can only be attended by a few wealthy youths, whose fortune sufficiently elevates them above their fellow-citizens, and whose learning contributes still more to widen the distance. The free-schools, on the contrary, are intended for all: the utmost attention ought, therefore, to be bestowed upon them. In monarchical governments, universities will generally be superior; in republics, this superiority should belong to free-schools. The American is unquestionably more conscious of self-dignity than any other man: the value which

he sets upon this dignity, is proved by the existence of innumerable institutions, all springing from the people. Even the Western States are not so much behindhand as is generally supposed. I have visited those countries several times, spoken with thousands of their inhabitants, and have not met with a single Anglo-American wholly destitute of learning. The art of reading and writing is widely diffused, and the assertions of English travellers respecting the stupid ignorance of these backwoodsmen, are mere sallies of wit, and should be so understood. If I found a man entirely unlettered, I could be sure of his being an emigrant Irishman, or a descendant from the French.

Libraries are now to be found in almost every county-town. The more respectable inhabitants, such as Lawyers, Physicians, Ministers, and Merchants, frequently put their libraries together, and deposit them in a room of the court-house for the use of every inhabitant in the county. Those who borrow books from these libraries, pay a small annual or monthly sum for the use of them. The money thus raised is applied to the purchase of new works, or to repay the proprietors for the injuries done to the old ones. These small collec-

tions, seldom exceeding five hundred volumes, contain generally the British Classics, Shakspeare, Milton, Thompson, Pope, Johnson, Hume, Robertson, Sterne, Byron, Moore, and Burke, together with Franklin, Jefferson, Marshall's Life of Washington, Botta's History of the Revolution, Washington Irving, Cooper, &c. In large towns the libraries are proportionably more extensive, and those of Philadelphia, New York, Boston, &c., if not very numerous, are certainly select, mostly consisting of English works, except the New Orleans library of eight thousand volumes, which is chiefly composed of French authors.

Of the most important bulwark of a nation's liberty, the freedom of the press, no people make a more extensive use than the Americans. Their newspapers are justly considered as the principal sources of public information. The American attends to his newspaper not like the Germans or the French, for the purpose of deriving a topic of conversation upon politics in which they have no concern, but for the regulation of his public and private life. A rigid inquiry into the measures of government, which would in some countries be deemed arrogance, in others a crime, is with him a point of

duty. He is a member of the sovereign body which elects its own representatives, who become responsible to him for their acts; he, therefore, is obliged to manifest his opinion as to their proceedings. With him the measures of his own immediate State, the acts of Congress, of his Assembly, and his county, and the contests of parties, are points of primary importance: the affairs of foreign countries, Great Britain alone excepted, are to him of less moment. No other nation dares to express its sentiments on political, financial, military, judicial, and mercantile affairs like the Americans, because no other government can take so much interest in enlightening their fellow-citizens upon matters which may more or less concern them.

The newspapers, therefore, comprehend the whole life, public and private, of the Union. The complaints of any particular State, against grievances inflicted by the central government, the grievances of the traveller whose landlord or captain has ill-used him, are alike inserted in these journals. The sheriff has not a surer or less expensive mode of recovering a prisoner who has escaped, or a planter of getting back his runaway slave, than a public advertisement.

Jonathan is, as it were by nature, a spy. If you enter a tavern, the first questions of the landlord will be, "Where do you come from? Where are you going? Who are you? What is your profession? What is your business?" He asks such questions, in short, as you are required to write down for the police at every inn in France, Prussia, and Austria; an unsatisfactory answer would expose you to criticisms and suspicions. It is almost impossible for a suspected person to escape; his shrewdness seldom fails to find out his man. Endowed as he is with a capacity for retaining in his memory the dress, the look, the physiognomy, and a thousand other circumstances, it will excite no wonder that out of one hundred persons advertised in the public papers, scarcely ten escape apprehension, owing to the scrutinizing eyes of this popular and gratuitous police. The advertisements before mentioned, and others relative to ships, goods, discoveries, &c., &c., sufficiently account for the astonishing number of American newspapers in circulation. Upwards of one thousand are now printed in the Union: Pennsylvania alone has one hundred and fifty. There is hardly a county as far as the falls of Ohio, which has not at least one public paper,

some of them meagre enough, but they answer the purpose. The poorest man is thus enabled to keep a newspaper, the cost of which does not exceed three dollars (thirteen shillings) a year, as there is no stamp duty attached, which he is permitted to pay in produce. The central government has taken every care to facilitate the circulation of these papers, the postage of each amounting to only one cent in the State, and one and a half if sent out of it.

Unrestrained in language and comment as John Bull may be, Jonathan goes beyond him; and I am sure that if some of the members of the Holy Alliance could read these papers in their original language, they would operate like physic, and relieve many an oppressed country, by visiting the readers with a bilious fever.

The best public papers are reckoned to be *The Richmond Enquirer*, *Neale's Weekly Register*, *Noah's Advocate*, and the newspaper of Mr. Walsh, formerly a Jesuit. Religious, mercantile, and agricultural papers are published in great numbers, and as for reading-rooms, which are now to be found almost in every town containing two thousand inhabitants, they certainly may vie with any other nation.

The scientific or critical journals cannot be compared with their patterns the British, though they begin to be rather more than repetitions of the Edinburgh and London Reviews. The best are the *North American Review*, and the *Portfolio*. For the ladies there are the *Mirror*, the *Ariel*, and other journals of the belles lettres. These, with a number of academies for arts and sciences, societies for the improvement of agriculture and commerce, with medical, philosophical, and physical institutions, certainly constitute a fund of popular information, which though in some instances defective, may fairly be considered as superior to that of any country of equal proportion and similar means.

Chapter X.

American High Life—Life in County Towns, and in the Country.

Domestic life in America has the appearance of being cold and formal. The foreigner who enters a private society, is inclined to think himself among people who are utter strangers to one another. The American conducts himself towards his wife and his children, with very little more familiarity than towards his neighbours: this formality seems not quite in accordance with republican manners, but, when closely considered, will not be deemed out of place. To this reserve it is principally owing, that in American families so few instances are found of that brutality which too often disgraces the lower classes of other nations. To break out into anything like impassioned feelings, would be thought highly improper, and their fire-sides exhibit the utmost decency of conduct: the cause of this is, perhaps, laid more deeply than is imagined. American life is much more before the public than that of any other people, and the citizen

may be sure that he is closely observed by his best friends and neighbours, who do not fail to keep an exact account of his doings and sayings, in order to exhibit to his view a catalogue of all his transgressions, if he should attempt to fill a public station. He is, therefore, on his guard, and rather inclined to hypocrisy, always demeaning himself with more outward correctness amongst his friends and neighbours than amongst strangers, who are of course indifferent to him. With principles we have nothing to do in this case: where waltzes and cards are in vogue, they are seen waltzing and playing whist; whereas at home and in county-towns, they would not venture to name cards without a shudder. It may be thought that this kind of cunning is pushed too far, but in America we are not liable to be deceived by cunning, which, though current like depreciated paper-money, only imposes upon the ignorant.

The wealthier families live in a style which, in New York especially, exceeds all due bounds. The ladies of New York, imitating the fashion of the British metropolis, seem to forget that to assume the character of Peeresses, something more is requisite than a Cachmere shawl, bonnets trimmed

with Brussel's lace; and a London watch with a gold chain, or an affected indifference to the display of these finèries, by throwing them off as the sailor does his tarred trowsers.

The forenoon is employed by the fashionable fair, in sea-ports, in preparations for dressing, in an occasional touch upon the piano, and in other trifling occupations: at twelve their female friends drop in accompanied by a native dandy. After having gone through the *Chronique Scandaleuse* of the last twenty-four hours, they make the round of the fashionable shops until three; at three, dinner is served; this is followed by a ride, after which they go to the Italian opera or to the theatre, and then to supper. A ball changes the order of things, and supersedes opera or theatre.

It is certainly not the fault of the ladies if they do not attract attention; their attractive powers are great, and they are not wanting in endeavours to set them off, especially if a stranger or a foreigner of supposed rank should make his appearance. Nothing can be more entertaining than to watch them on such occasions; all the springs of female vanity and *espionnage* are put in motion, and the adventurous spirit of the female fortune-hunter has reached its highest pitch, if

the foreigner exhibit something like a diamond about him. In a few days the diamond will often change into a glass-stone, and the lord, count, or baron, into a runaway adventurer, and our embarrassed Miss resorts again to her virtuous pride, which is ready at hand until another subject is found. A number of stories are weekly related on this interesting topic, and though half of them prove mere fabrications, it requires no very acute penetration to discover that the American ladies, in point of prudence, are still superior to their British cousins, whose love is said to be in exact proportion to their marriage settlements. Some years ago a young British merchant came introduced to Mr. P——, and was invited to dinner; he came—he saw—he conquered. A few days were sufficient to ripen the affair, and the young man was requested to give a more explicit account of himself; he did so, and being young, handsome, and though not rich, still being possessed of sufficient property to begin business, he was accepted.

The wedding-day was fixed, when unhappily arrived Mr. S——, a wealthy Virginia bachelor, who was forty years of age, and possessed of thrice as many slaves, with two plantations. This

gentleman, or rather his plantations, were too respectable not to claim every attention on the part of Miss P——, and of course the company of the planter was preferred to that of John Bull, who for a while was put aside. He withdrew, and immediately returned the *gâges d'amour* which he had received, expecting the lady would do the same. In a fortnight the old bachelor, who, as might be supposed, was too well versed in affairs of this kind to exhaust himself in such tokens, took his departure, and access was again permitted to the discarded Englishman. John Bull, however, despised the hint, and even threatened to publish the affair if the presents were not returned. They were in consequence sent back, and Miss P——, like many of her fair sisters, had the threefold mortification of losing in a fortnight, two lovers, a diamond-ring, a breast-pin, and ear-rings. Other examples of the kind might be adduced, but, as we are afraid of offending the fair candidates by dwelling too long upon this matter, we forbear.

Any one to whose lot a lady of this description falls, may be sure of not getting the very worst of her sex. One little objection I should myself feel to a union with one of these prudent ladies,

is, that they always live much longer than their husbands. What they want in feeling, however, they supply in prudence, and they become cautious, well versed in human affairs, and extremely circumspect; moreover, they behave with great decency in company. In elucidation of such characters, who are less rare than might perhaps be imagined, the following, touching one of the most respectable ladies in P——a, may be added. Her son, a young lawyer, came to practise at K——n; being rather too much of a gentleman, he was soon disgusted with the dry study of Blackstone, and returned to his bibacious habit of drinking brandy in Mr. M——'s tavern: the rest of his time was spent in bed. Notwithstanding his trembling hand, this hopeful son met with an object who seemed likely to return his addresses; his mother was informed of it, and ordered her son home, to the great displeasure of the tavern-keeper. "William, are you married?" was his mother's address to him, when he entered her room on his return from his late residence, at a distance of upwards of three hundred miles. "No, Madam!" "Well, go to your room and wait my orders." These were, that he should set out the next day to a

distance of three hundred miles, in a direction opposite to K——n. Some weeks afterwards, Mr. and Mrs. P—— arrived at Philadelphia, and paid a visit to this lady. The conversation having turned upon her son, "Why," said the tender mother, "I am very glad that it has been in my power to prevent this unequal match; I should then perhaps have had to provide for his children as well as himself. I do not know indeed what to do with this young man; he drinks so terribly, and smokes so incessantly, that I shall be forced to send him next summer to New Orleans: there the yellow fever I hope will cure him."

Although the majority of fashionable ladies are by no means of this way of thinking, yet boarding-schools, and boarding-houses, dashing foreigners, and especially the absence of all distinctions of ranks in society, give them a certain degree of assurance, which seems to be founded on the idea that they are necessarily the central point of man's attention. If you happen to meet with them in company, on a journey, on board a vessel or a steam-boat, they will not expect the attendance of the gentlemen like their European sisters, and be grateful for such gallantry, but they will claim it as their right, and a lady is

even capable of sending word to any gentleman who has not shaved himself clean, that "he is expected to dress himself properly."

Want of delicacy, or rather want of feeling, is never more apparent than on the occasion of parting from their children. In several States the father is entitled to the service of his son till he has attained the age of twenty-one. This state of vassalage has ceased in the wealthier families and in cities, but a feeling of indifference still prevails. It is a salutary custom in a country like America, where ready means of existence and of acquiring a property are open to all, that children should have nothing to expect from their parents before their decease; but I should be happy to find a corrective applied to that shocking want of feeling so often exhibited in the separation of parents and their children. One son is going to Buenos Ayres, the other to Carraccas, and a third to New Orleans, and yet the mother is no more affected than if they were starting upon an excursion from New York to Philadelphia. There are many honourable exceptions to this rule, sufficient, I flatter myself, to invalidate it, but this does not render the existing examples less revolting.

If you wish to see Jonathan with all his peculiarities and those peculiar shades which constitute the national character, you must visit him in county-towns or in the country. There, his mode of living, though of course less fashionable is more unfettered, and he appears in his original and real character, the free member of an independent and extensive commonwealth. The most distinguished statesmen retire to the country or to county-towns. The would-be fashionables and imitators of *bon ton* on a petty scale, who are to be met with in every village of Europe, you would seek in vain in America. The poorest renter having the same vote as the wealthiest inhabitant of New York, his deportment and conduct are the same. Their morals, if we except a greedy pursuit of money, are pure, and the living in any of the county-towns is extremely cheap. A person possessed of seven or eight hundred dollars a year (from one hundred and sixty to one hundred and eighty pounds sterling), may live on quails, pheasants, turkeys, and keep three horses and two servants, especially if he lives rent free. The same style of living would cost in Philadelphia three thousand, in New York four thousand, and in New Orleans six thousand

dollars a year. In Great Britain, the principal attention in furniture is directed to the drawing-room; here it is the parlour—this is adorned with chimney-pieces, looking-glasses, carpets, a pianoforte, and a sideboard stored with abundance of decanters, filled with gin, brandy, whisky, and Madeira. For six hundred dollars a country parlour may be furnished tolerably well.

Amusements in the country chiefly consist of eating and drinking. The hour of breakfast, we might say dinner, is eight o'clock: this meal consists of coffee or tea, chickens, beefsteaks, mutton, veal, fish, cakes of corn, wheat, or buck-wheat cakes, and jellies. Another dinner is taken at one o'clock, with a glass of brandy, gin, or whisky, the ladies drinking cider, milk, or water. At seven a third dinner, here called supper, is served, and a regular tea-party of course increases the stock of provisions, with all accessible dainties, such as turkeys, venison, hams, tongues, jellies of every description. "We help ourselves," says the American, and "thank God, just as John Bull is accustomed to do—but unlike him, we attend only to one occupation, that of eating in silence, aware as we are, that the teeth and the tongue cannot obey two masters at

the same time." The tea-table being removed, the party retire to the fire-side, and, quietly seated round it, discuss the various talents as they occur. If two lovers are present, they are permitted to converse with each other in the same steady manner, and to form those tender connexions which finally end in matrimony.

They do not look so closely here as in maritime cities after wealthy matches. A young man of good figure and of some profession or trade, no matter whether he be an American or a Russian, has a fair chance of success with the ladies. Their affections prevail even if the decision of the inquisitorial tribunal should not prove satisfactory, and the hymeneal ties prove generally more happy when contracted with a steady youth, who, though at present not rich, has the means by his talents of becoming so. A very proper feeling exists upon this point.

They have quiet tea-parties, balls given either on public occasions, such as the declaration of the Independence, the anniversary of the birth-day of Washington, or the like. Supper and refreshments, as rum, whisky, brandy, gin, are amply provided, much too amply indeed for the convenience of the ladies, who have often to

dance after midnight with their tottering partners. The dances are cotillons, country-dances, and at private balls, waltzes. On these occasions much awkwardness is often displayed, a fault springing from our country ladies and country gentlemen, who, unless they are educated in Philadelphia, or in any other fashionable city, are seen heavily stamping about, not very unlike bears, to the music of an orchestra, consisting of one or at most two violins. These are played by old German revolutionary soldiers, who know but one tune, which they perform with corresponding dexterity, so long as whisky and brandy have not quite overpowered senses and nerves. But as no such abhorrence of discordant sounds exists here, the dance is continued until four o'clock, when the company retire exceedingly delighted with the superb entertainment. Of this an account is immediately inserted in the newspaper, to give the county an idea of the finished tone which their fashionables have acquired.

Entertainments have here sometimes a political tendency. I remember a ball given in R——. The lawyers of this town had a certain pique against their presiding judge, occasioned by an anxious desire of getting into his place.

The wily S—— was, however, too well aware of their friendly disposition, and too conscious of his foibles, to indulge in deep potations: he refused all invitations. At this particular time he unfortunately arrived at R—— with his daughter, and, unable to resist her solicitations, he went to the ball. She was well received, but no further attention seemed to be paid to him; not so, however, with respect to his daughter, who, upon her entrance, was immediately surrounded by a crowd of fashionable country beaux. The poor President Judge debated within himself the question *to drink or not to drink*, for nearly two hours: Feeling at last secure from the little attention which seemed to be shown to him, he ventured to take one glass of the delicious brandy, then another, and after having taken the third glass, he was unable to resist the tempting seducer: Indian like, he poured in as much as he could. The gentleman of the house, with his lady, met him half way, by substituting mead instead of brandy. At one o'clock his honour was so overpowered with the good things of which he had so copiously partaken, that it was found necessary to carry him home in a country litter. Care was taken to expose him as much as possible to

public view, and upwards of fifty persons saw the honourable judge carried home in this degraded state. On the next day the very person who gave the ball, had an address drawn up, signed, printed, and circulated, which petitioned the Assembly for the deposition of his drunken worship. The House of Assembly, however, inquired more particularly into the affair, and having seen through the conspiracy, Judge S—— escaped with a severe reprimand, and Mr. B—— failed in his ingenious attempt to succeed to the office.

It is difficult to form an idea of the simple and industrious habits of the American farmers; the whole family are in motion from morning till evening. Children from six to eight years of age have their allotted tasks. As soon as the school has ended, about the middle of February, the sugar-boiling engages their time, the young ones are seen carrying wood, emptying the small troughs filled with maple-water into the barrels, and the adults are chopping wood, or boiling sugar. The labours of the field succeed; while the lads are ploughing and sowing, the daughters are breaking flax, or spinning, weaving, or making dresses for themselves and the family. The sons until they have reached their sixteenth year, and

the daughters until the age of fourteen, are sent to school during the three winter months. After having been confirmed, their parents generally permit them to work and so to provide for themselves. If a lad has thus worked for the space of two, three, or four years, and if his finances have accrued to a sum deemed sufficient for his establishment (though rarely exceeding one hundred dollars), he thinks of marriage. The object of his affections he knows from the meetings, or the maize huskings. He repairs to her house before supper, which being ended, he approaches the beloved object with his hat on. The preliminaries of the treaty are short, and generally in the same terms: "Do you like my company?" If the reply be "No," the matrimonial candidate moves off with a "very well;" if the reply be "I don't know," then there is hope; if it be "perhaps I could," this is a half consent; and "yes I do," is decisive. In the latter case they sit up during the night by the kitchen fire entertaining one another in the best mode they can. The parents care little about the proceedings of their children in this point, unless the match should appear too unequal: but even in this case the lad prevails. The clergyman is summoned, or,

in default of one, the justice of the peace is applied to, and it frequently happens that hymen joins the couple on the following day. If the parents are wealthy and satisfied with the match, a dinner is provided; if otherwise, then whisky must suffice. The long and tedious courtships of towns and cities are here unknown; if the youth be of age, and the girl likewise, they marry without asking leave of any one, and if not, they frequently do the same. If the justice of the peace or the minister refuse to marry them, they go into another township, and should the esquire be here equally unwilling to expose himself to the penalty of three hundred dollars for the sake of the matrimonial fee of a dollar and a half, then they go into another State, where at last the romantic scene is concluded. These cases, however, seldom occur: these youths, though adventurous in the highest degree, being far from romantic, for in that case they would forfeit their portion.

The portion of the farmer's son consists of a horse, some agricultural implements, and seeds, but, for a very obvious reason, no money. The dowry of the girl, is her bedding, a cow, kitchen utensils, and, if the parents are rich, a bureau,

a table, and six chairs: with these moveables and sixty or seventy dollars, to which the wife adds fifteen or twenty out of her savings, the couple begin their husbandry by purchasing one hundred acres of woodland, at one dollar an acre. With the assistance of neighbours they build a cabin, with a stable and a barn, and in the course of two years they are free from debt, as they are both accustomed to work hard and lead a plain life. Their pastimes are welshcorn-huskings, and cabin-blockings, and such frolics, besides the singing school. Generally they meet for this purpose during the night preceding the Sabbath from a distance of from three to five miles.

Chapter XI.

Religion—Clergy—Synods—Sects—Roman Catholics—Unitarians.

One of the wisest resolutions ever taken by a legislative body, was unquestionably that of allowing perfect freedom of conscience, and of ample religious toleration, or rather of placing all religions on equal terms. Whether this resolution be the result of philosophical inquiry, or of the simultaneous principles and opinions of the first leading characters of the Union, is of little consequence. Whatever may have been their views on that measure, the effects are no less beneficial to the State. By giving the ascendency to none of the established forms of worship, and by refusing to the minister of religion any salary out of the public treasury *(a measure for which the Union is principally indebted to the immortal Jefferson, who laboured incessantly till he had succeeded in rescinding all such grants)*, religion, from being the means of livelihood to its ministers, as in almost every Christian country

in Europe, became the property of the people, and even when apparently deserted, its absolute necessity became the more visible, and its dominion was the more firmly established. Although the dogmatic system of the different Christian forms of worship may have suffered from this adaptation of them to the popular opinion, and though many an inquiry may have taken place, at which an orthodox believer would have shuddered, the true Christian religion cannot but have gained by the change. The most unbelieving sceptic must surely feel inclined to serious reflections, when, in a country so perfectly free to choose whether he will believe in religion or not, he sees that religion, which was less than twenty-five years ago an object of derision and contempt on the continent of Europe, and is only just reviving, displaying in America a multitude of churches erected to its honour, and frequented with an eagerness that affords the clearest evidence of the truth of Christianity, and of its natural and necessary operation upon the human mind. The American is religiously inclined, and if not so in reality, in appearance at least, he is more sincere than the European.

In Philadelphia there are at present above

eighty churches and meeting-houses, all of which are much more frequented on the Sabbath than those on the continent of Europe. If we take into consideration that the American has to provide for the support of the church and its minister, and that these expenses frequently amount to more than the public taxes he has to pay, the religious character of the people will appear in a more striking light.

In Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and the larger commercial towns, the style of buildings is splendid, and exhibit a taste and liberality equally conspicuous. These are visible in their elegant carpets, splendid lustres, richly decorated pulpits and communion-tables, together with a gilded organ and tasteful pews. I allow that vanity may have had some share in these embellishments, but the display of it on these occasions is entitled to indulgence. In the flat country from Philadelphia to Harrisburgh, a distance of one hundred miles in length and breadth, there are many churches in a style of architectural beauty, which would not disgrace any European city, and these are erected by country congregations at their own expense. It is not unusual to see a farmer in but moderate circum-

stances, subscribe from two to three hundred dollars. Pittsburgh, which is not more than fifty years in existence, has now ten churches, amongst which is the Trinity church, completed in 1825, in a style of Gothic elegance, worthy an European metropolis. Several members of its congregation subscribed five hundred dollars; and yet this city though, perhaps, wealthy, is far from being very opulent. Greensburgh, on the Philadelphia road, thirty miles on this side of Pittsburgh, has, for a population not exceeding eighteen hundred souls, no less than four churches, and the country congregation which is without at least a wooden meeting-house, is either very small, or a very poor one indeed.

About Greensburgh there are seven German congregations, who have elegant brick churches, each consisting of from fifty to sixty families. Not long ago one of these was finished at the expense of six thousand dollars. If we consider that amongst the number of the congregation, ten families may be said to possess some wealth, fifteen or twenty with a bare sufficiency to live upon, and the rest absolutely poor, who, under the existing pressure and the low prices of produce, can hardly contribute anything, it will

appear beyond a doubt, that to be religious in the United States is very expensive. To these expenses for the building of churches must be added the minister's salary, from one to a hundred dollars for each family; unquestionably the heaviest tax an American has to pay, and which he is only brought to submit to, from the circumstance of the tax being self-imposed, and his having the power of selecting his own minister.

In most of the States which were formerly subject to British government, Synods were instituted, such as existed in New England; in other States the congregations appointed such ministers as they found in their way. Numerous dissensions and difficulties arose from these selections; frequently when the preacher, who was sometimes neither more nor less than a Yankee schoolmaster, or pedlar, or a suspicious character, was accepted by the one party, he was infallibly rejected by the other. After every difficulty was removed, and the preacher was in full exercise of his functions, reports were circulated of his former life and character, through the medium of the newspapers, which obliged the reverend gentleman to disappear abruptly from the scene of his ministerial labours. To obviate this

evil, the ministers of almost all sects, after the example of the Presbyterians, resorted to the institution of Synods, which are assemblies of ordained ministers, into which none were received who either could not prove their being ordained, or who did not subject themselves to an examination. Though neither these Synods nor the management of ecclesiastical affairs in general, are to be considered as connected with the government, or as supported by its authority, these institutions enjoyed universal approbation, inasmuch as that, without at all infringing by their existence upon the liberty claimed by the congregations to choose their own preachers, they prevented for the future, the appointment of any who had not been examined and approved of. At first these Synods were not numerously attended; there were at most, ten or twelve ministers with as many deputies. In the course of time new members joined them in whose admission every precaution was used. The Synod was nothing more nor less than what it is at present, a private assembly of the clergy, who with the consent and approbation of their congregations gave to themselves a kind of hierarchical constitution. They were not authorized by

any particular class, and no person was obliged to join them; but the very order of their proceedings, and the great esteem which was paid to the individual minister, as well as to the whole convocation, contributed to increase their number, and established a distinction between their body and the various reverend vagrants dispersed throughout the Union. Wherever a numerous congregation was formed, they of course preferred preachers approved by the Synods, who could give some security for their good conduct, and subject themselves to proper responsibility. If they were found to lead an irregular life, or to contravene the regulations of the Synod, they were excluded: even then, however, it rested wholly with the congregation to retain or to dismiss them. The decrees as well as the regulations of the Synods are private acts; and although the congregations should refuse to submit to them, the government never interferes; excepting when they have publicly engaged to maintain their ministers, and have signed deeds deposited in the county or state office. Then the congregation as well as the subscribers may be compelled by law to adhere to such articles as they have bound themselves to observe.

However loose may be the ties of this hierarchical Union, the best security for its permanency, and the confidence reposed in it, may be found in the free will of the congregations, and the publicity of its proceedings. These Synods are now established in the Presbyterian, German, Lutheran, and Reformed churches throughout the United States, and comprehend all the ordained ministers. They meet every year at a place previously determined upon, where they hold their sessions during four or five days. All the affairs of the congregations under the spiritual care of the members are considered and revised: the President and Secretary are chosen by the votes of the ministers and of the deputies from the congregations. It is by means of these Synods, instituted in the simple evangelical spirit of primitive times, that the hierarchical system of the United States has been brought to a condition which does not yield to that of any other country. If there be at present a congregation without a minister, application is made to the Synod, which either sends one, or incorporates the congregation into a neighbouring flock. If several congregations are without spiritual aid, they are visited by a minister, who

performs divine service, and uses his best exertions to become popular with the leading members. If the majority of the congregation be in his favour, and the subscription such as to answer his expectations, the Synod is informed of his election, and its approval invests him in his spiritual office.

The present penury and scarcity of money have had great influence over the churches and their pastors, and they must now be satisfied with diminished incomes: in the western countries they are often paid in produce. This is particularly the case with those resident in the country, of whose salaries of between four and eight hundred dollars, four-fifths at least are paid in this way. The payment of ministers whose subscription is raised by the wardens or deacons of the congregation, varies in amount, though never exceeding five thousand dollars. Those of the Episcopalian church are considered as the best paid; those of the Presbyterian, on the contrary, have the lowest income. They, however, deserve well their salaries, especially in the country, their different congregations being often at a distance of more than twenty miles from each other. Still this is trifling compared with the

hardships those of the western parts have to endure. They often have to travel five or six thousand miles in the year in the regular discharge of their ministry. The situation of these preachers is certainly not enviable. Every Sunday they have to preach two, and even three sermons, and to perform a journey of twenty and more miles from one meeting-house to the other. Creeks or rivers, snow or rain, heat or cold, must not prevent their avocations, as the members of the congregation are never deterred by such difficulties. They have to perform their journeys through woods on horseback, for to ride in a carriage is quite impossible, owing to the impracticability of the roads, and their own slender incomes.

Of the four churches belonging to the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Lutheran, and the Catholic forms of worship, the former have regularly established theological institutions, though in order to become a teacher of any sect, it is by no means necessary to have studied divinity. The Lawyers Hopkins, Jenkins, &c., have turned preachers without having acquired any other information than from their own private studies. Such examples are nume-

rous, and the most admired preachers are generally those who left other professions for the pulpit.

The ministers of the Episcopalian church, from their principles of toleration and freedom of conscience, are more popular among the better classes of society than the gloomy Presbyterians, who present many specimens that would remind us of the Mucklewraths of old, though there may be found amongst them many distinguished and respectable men. Their best theological seminaries are in the New England States, which are the very nursery of preachers, and supply the western and south-western States with "multitudes" of them.

The German ministers, amongst whom are many very distinguished men, are instructed by one of their pastors, with whom they reside for one or two years. The preparation being finished, the candidate is introduced to the Synod, examined, and then either approved or rejected: if admitted, congregations are assigned to him, to which he repairs, and immediately enters upon his functions. The Lutheran ministers, German as well as English, eminently distinguish themselves above their Reformed and Presbyterian

brethren. The preachers of these three churches, as well as the Catholic priests, are considered in the light of regular ministers, and live in perfect harmony. Disputes are seldom heard of, and they often unite their efforts to procure the erection of a church. Families are known to subscribe in the same manner to the support of three or four different preachers.

The Episcopalian clergy are beginning to grow rather more zealous in their calling, owing to the numerous desertions of their flocks, but particularly of the younger part of their congregations. In the north of the United States the Sunday is well known to be exclusively dedicated to the performance of religious duties. A good Christian family is seldom contented with one sermon; generally they hear two or three. To hear none, would, in the Northern States, and especially in New England, New York, and Philadelphia, be deemed unfashionable; and a repetition of this neglect, would subject the absentee to exclusion from society. If they belong to the Episcopalian congregation, they hear in the forenoon their own minister; in the afternoon they go to the Presbyterian meeting, and as on the Sabbath every species of entertainments would be thought, even

by the more liberal part of the community, highly indecorous, and even subject to a penalty in some of the States, the female has no other alternative than to go a third time to the Methodist meeting, where they often become converts.—The Methodist preachers, by the warmth of their enthusiasm, and by the zeal which they display in their calling, are found to attract many pious women, to the no small uneasiness of the established church, thereby necessarily curtailed in its spiritual and temporal interests. As, however, there is no remedy for this loss, and the minister who would presume to raise his voice against the evil, would be sure to loose all popularity, as endeavouring to restrain the liberty of conscience, he is forced into liberality by the common example. This liberality extends so far, that it would be thought highly improper by the very members of his own congregation, if their minister should dare to inveigh against other forms of religions. "In every church we may be pious, and we are all of us Christians," are expressions frequently heard on these occasions, and they act accordingly. The child under the paternal roof, will choose its religion without the smallest inter-

ference of its parents, unless it should evince a preference for the Catholic faith. There are families in which the father is an Episcopalian, the mother a Presbyterian, one of the children a Baptist, another a Methodist, all living peaceably and quietly together, in the sedate and quiet manner which marks the American character. They never grow warm in debate; every man maintains his opinion, without regarding that of his neighbour.

Some time ago, Miss B—— from G——, was desirous of being confirmed by Bishop W——, then on a tour through Pennsylvania. She had no friends among the candidates for confirmation, and requested a friend of hers to keep her company and partake of the rite. Her friend who was a Presbyterian, consented without the least hesitation, thereby deserting the religion of her parents, who did not seem to notice it. On being asked how she could so readily give way, she replied, "Why, I could not let her go alone, and to tell the truth, I like Mr. B—— better than this old snuffy T——." This is not only the case with Miss B——, but with many steadier persons. It depends entirely on the minister, whether the Episcopalian or Presbyterian, or any other church is

to be the most fashionable in town. If he should succeed in rendering himself popular with the majority of the inhabitants, which attempt, and to deliver a good sermon, are the chief points to be attended to, then he may reckon upon a full meeting-house, and, consequently, upon a large list of subscriptions. If he does not know how to win popularity, or how to preserve it, his spiritual authority will assuredly cease before the year is at an end, and he will have to place his travelling staff at a greater distance. The congregation of the Episcopalian at P—— was not very numerous, although, as is generally the case, it consisted of the most respectable and wealthy inhabitants of the place. The rector, who had quitted the bar and turned preacher, was at no loss to discover the mode of increasing his congregation. He persuaded them to sell the old church and to build a new one, of which he drew out the plan. A majestic yet simple building of Gothic form, was erected in a style of magnificence far surpassing the other nine churches. No fashionable family of the place could resist the temptation of taking seats in the new church, so splendidly decorated. The pews were rapidly sold, and the subscription list was filled up in a

manner that left the reverend gentleman no reason to regret his change. These pious stratagems are, generally speaking, unattended with bad consequences, as it is deemed in reality a very indifferent question, which of the reverend competitors has the most auditors, or the most income, provided his conduct be in accordance with his profession. On the other hand, the bad conduct of ministers has often been attended with pernicious consequences; and cases could be cited, where a single deviation has induced a congregation to abstain for years from any intercourse with the teachers of religion.

The other sects have no regularly educated ministers, and they are permitted to ascend the pulpit without being previously examined. They speak, to use their own words, "when they are prompted by the spirit." This spirit seems often to deceive these good people, at least they are heard to utter gross absurdities. The religion of the people in general, as well as that of a certain class amongst them, is everywhere in exact proportion to their understandings. The enlightened and better classes in the United States, are to be found mostly among the Episcopalians; the middling classes, with numerous

exceptions, are Presbyterians; the zealous and enthusiasts of all classes are Methodists; while the poor and simple Backwoodsmen are among the Ammonists, Mennonists Christians*, New Men, Tunkers, &c. If the latter are questioned about their religious principles, they look steadfastly with open eyes, and reply, "We keep ourselves according to the Bible." They celebrate the Lord's Supper at midnight, they wash each other's feet, wear long beards, and are baptized in the rivers, where they wade to the chin either in winter or in summer. One of them being asked the reason of allowing his beard to grow, went to his chest, took out an immense Bible with woodcuts, and pointed to the beards of our Saviour and the Apostles. There is no disputing such authority. The poorer classes join these and similar sects, which in the Western States are very numerous. Their preachers are honest peasants, who explain the Bible as well as they are able, and will discourse four or five hours in a continued strain of simple eloquence, without any apparent fatigue.

Happening to pass on a Sabbath-day through Beaver, and being obliged to stay there, I was

* A new sect so designated.

amused at hearing one of their sermons, in which the preacher discussed the question of Noah's Ark, how it was pitched within and without; he calculated the quantity of pitch and tar which the builder must have consumed. This honest man, as he further explained, had examined rather too minutely a keelboat at Pittsburgh, on its way down the Ohio and the Mississippi, and having seen the caulking of these vessels, he edified his auditors with a description of Noah's proceeding in rather a colloquial manner, doubtless to their no small spiritual comfort. "Jonathan has made an extremely fine speech," the good people would be heard to say, "I am of the notion that he beats all those learned longheads, and all is God's word—all is in the Bible, I have read it myself." And with ejaculations corresponding with their capacities, they left the barn which was their place of meeting; the more wealthy to seek their horses and ride home two or three astride each animal, the poor returning on foot. These Tunkers have highly attractive powers for the poor, and were it not for their long beards, which as they learned from their grandfathers are only worn by the Jews, their numbers would be still greater. Considered in

the proper light, these sects are far from being contemptible; they are, on the contrary, in many respects very beneficial, as the connecting ties of poor families, which would otherwise be left to themselves in these Backwoods. They hold strongly together, mutually relieving and supporting each other, and in time of need or of sickness, their indigent brother may rely upon their aid. They keep up an exemplary discipline. A member guilty of drunkenness or any other vice, "is thrown over the fence," or, in unfigurative language, he is excommunicated. The families are under mutual inspection, and have a regular divine service. It would, however, be desirable, if they took somewhat more care of the education of their children, who, as the parents think learning a sinful thing, remain grossly ignorant.

Another reason for the great numbers of these sectarians, and especially the Methodists, is the quickly ripened hierarchy of the established forms, with all the appendages of pious ambition, egotism, hypocrisy, and supercilious humility, as circumstances call them into operation. The American of the Western States, who is anything but over-religious, holds such conduct in abhorrence, and prefers, therefore, the Methodists or

Baptists, whose enthusiastic zeal appears to him more appropriate, and less expensive. The Episcopalian on the contrary, and especially the Presbyterian ministers, dwell more upon moral and political topics, enlarging upon the merits of their favourites, and forgetting the Bible and its contents. They seem particularly fond of Mr. Adams; and the influence which he exercises over a vast proportion of his countrymen, through these devoted spiritual emissaries, can hardly be exceeded by the French Jesuits.

This is certainly the case with the Yankee ministers who are spread over a vast portion of the Union. The ministers from other parts of the United States conduct themselves in a becoming manner. But to return to the Methodists. These, and especially the Methodists of the Episcopalian church, have indeed done much to propagate the Christian religion; and whatever may be said of them, the western parts, where they sent missionaries, and distributed thousands of Bibles, are standing records of their usefulness. The western settlers, especially on the extremities of the different States, had lost almost every trace of Christianity; the majority were not even christened. Being in a state of

continual warfare with beasts and Indians, they became so barbarous, that they scarcely exhibited the remains of civilization; and were it not for their dress, and the lighter hue of their skin, many of them could hardly be recognised from native Indians.

In order to appreciate the labours of the missionaries, it is but fair to speak of the hardships and privations to which they were exposed. To ride several hundred and even thousand miles, through uninhabited and pathless wilds, in quest of petty settlements of from five to ten cabins, to deliver a sermon to very unwilling ears, and to encounter a rough and unfriendly reception, was too often the lot of these devoted men. I am acquainted with a young man, now the possessor of a beautiful farm on the banks of the Miami, in the State of Ohio, who was appointed Missionary to the territory of Arkansas; he went three hundred miles beyond the town of Little Rock, to find out a settlement of Kentuckians, which was represented to him as established there. After incredible hardships he arrived, and found eight cabins inhabited by seven white, and twice as many negro families. In five houses, each distant from the other about half a mile,

lodgings for the night were absolutely refused: he was about to seek refuge in the woods, when the intercession of an old negro-woman procured him a shelter, and some ears of corn for his supper. Divine service was announced for the next evening, none appeared but the negress, her master, and a negro. Regardless of this want of attention he preached a sermon;—the next evening his auditors increased to ten, the following to twenty, and the fourth night all the settlers came with their children and their negroes, the latter to be baptized. He continued his instructions during several days, and promised to provide them with Bibles, which were sent accordingly to Little Rock, from whence they were to be fetched. The good seed, however, had fallen on stony places. Though they afterwards came to Little Rock, they did not think proper to trouble themselves with the tokens of remembrance which had been sent to them.

On the other hand it cannot be denied, that the religious exercise of the Methodists, their camp-meetings in particular, are of a nature offensive to religion and to morality. I had heard of so many circumstances respecting these meetings, that I resolved some years ago to convince myself of their

truth or falsehood. Accordingly I made an excursion to Meadville, forty miles from my residence, where a camp-meeting was about to be held. The next day I rode, accompanied by several acquaintances, to the place of the meeting. We arrived at a wood with an open free ground, on the left of which was a farm-house. About four thousand people with twenty preachers were present; part of them were at work erecting huts, with trees and branches. At ten o'clock the religious exercises began, which only differed from other forms of worship, by the ranting of the preacher, and the deep groanings of his audience. We returned to Meadville, to revisit the place in the afternoon. The scene was now changed; one of their most violent enthusiasts was in the pulpit, and his theme was the love of Christ, and the hatred of sin: the stream of his eloquence overflowed with love. At the words "You are to love Christ fervently, you are to hold him in your arms," the whole assembly sighed deeply, and such ejaculations were now heard, as almost to bereave me of every sense. The preacher growing warmer and more violent, exclaimed at last, "There I see Christ—there he is sitting"— nodding to me.— "There is Christ," exclaimed one of the auditors.

"I have him in my arms," cried another. A third and a fourth joined in the exclamation, and such a scene of sighing, jumping, leaping, and beating their breasts ensued, as became only a company of madmen; this, however, was only the prelude to what was to follow. The preacher after a short pause began to speak of sin; how Christ and sin were incompatible, how sin was the work of the devil, and brought us or would bring us to hell. The sighing now changed into groanings, reminding the hearer of a field of battle. The more the preacher enlarged upon the torments of hell, the deeper was the groaning. On a sudden one of the women was seized with violent convulsions, her face became livid, her eyes were distorted, a cold perspiration ran down her forehead; she was raised, as if by a supernatural power, and fell senseless to the ground. A howling ensued which was heard at the distance of two miles: many of the women threw themselves down beating their breasts, and tearing their garments; others jumped like Bacchantes, their hair flying in disorder, their breasts thrown open, until exhausted with shrieks they sank down by the side of their sisters. Life seemed to have fled with decency from these

fanatics: half naked they lay senseless on the ground, until removed by the preachers and elders. I observed with shuddering and dismay, to what an extraordinary degree of madness religious fanaticism may lead. The evening service was held immediately after supper (a meal which every one had brought with him), and lasted till half-past ten; it differed but little from the former scene: at eleven the pious fanatics retired to their huts. When the reader is informed that these four thousand sectarians were, almost without exception, of the lower orders, uneducated and uninformed, and mostly young people of both sexes, who having waited for this opportunity with the utmost impatience, arrived from a distance of from ten to twenty miles, he will not be surprised to hear it stated, that scenes of illicit intercourse followed, over which, though delicacy draws the veil, truth commands us to pronounce to be the natural effects of the previous unholy excitement. The next day the same scenes were acted; on the third day both preachers and auditors were so exhausted that they returned home.

Though the existence of these Methodists in the United States, is but the growth of the last

thirty-six years, they are already separated into several sects, who have either the Episcopalian or Presbyterian form of church government, and their hatred of each other is inveterate. This enthusiasm, however, appears to be rather on the decline; and it is to be expected, that in a country where enthusiasm is permitted to have such free course, and to ferment unimpeded, it will, like its predecessors, soon evaporate.

It cannot be denied, that whatever good there may be in these sects, they have also their dark side. They are invariably marked by a certain narrow mindedness, which can only rejoice in the welfare of their sectarian brethren, and is indifferent to the rest of their fellow-creatures. And whatever may be said in favour of the Quakers, their peaceable demeanour, their industry and frugality, their principle of mutual assistance, still the true patriot has many objections against a society which disclaims one of the most important public duties, the defence of their country, and whose cares are confined within the limits of a sect, to the no small disadvantage of the general weal. They would not even contribute, by a pecuniary assistance, towards the defence of the State of which they are members;

and the forbearance and delicacy exhibited at their refusal, by the State of Pennsylvania in the last war, is a brilliant proof of the liberal principles displayed by the American government.

The regard which the American bears to freedom of religion and of thought, is founded on the nature of his situation. Thousands of his fellow-citizens live in the Backwoods, and are deprived of every opportunity of visiting churches. The Bible is their teacher; by constant perusal they become well versed in its contents. It requires no great sagacity to discover much discordance between the doctrines it contains, and the various creeds which man has established; common sense and solitude teach them to rely less on fallible authority, and to distinguish between divine and human precepts. Conscious of their liberty they pursue their own way: they find supporters as well as opponents among their neighbours; ambition is awakened, each party defends its opinions with corresponding warmth, the question excites interest, and a sect is established. The government could not prevent this without appointing a minister, a course not easily to be effected in these Backwoods, independently

of its being at variance with the fundamental principles of the Constitution: for although the Americans submit to receive ministers sent to them by their bishops and Synods, they would not acknowledge them if the government were to interfere.

This is the cause which alienates the American from the Catholic church, whose priests he knows are in the interest of the Court of Rome. Not that there are any restraints laid upon Catholics, they are, in the exercise of the forms of their religious worship, as free as any other church; they would, however, attempt in vain to render their creed popular, being considered as not having attained to freedom of opinion, but to be still in mental fetters. The simplest sectarian is regarded, in respect to his religion, with a more kindly feeling than the Catholic: this may be attributed to the different point of view in which this church stands to the nation. The Protestant minister acknowledges the sovereignty of the people, the Catholic that of the Pope; the Protestant feels every interest in enlightening his congregation, the Catholic priests keep them in darkness; the latter, who are commonly Irish and French, are monarchical in principles, the

Protestant are Republicans: in several States, therefore, the road to public offices, though not altogether closed against Catholics, is certainly made very difficult to them. They seem particularly obnoxious to the Presbyterians, and a Catholic and a Heathen are with them almost synonymous terms. The number of Roman Catholics is, however, great, amounting to upwards of a million. Of late years the Roman Court seems to have paid great attention to its transatlantic flock. Numerous priests were sent over from Ireland, Italy, and France, and there is not a moderate-sized town in which one or more do not officiate. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, New Orleans, &c., have their bishops, among whom several are men of profound learning. The number, however, of this church falls off considerably; and if not increased by emigrations from Ireland, there would, with the exception of Louisiana, soon be little necessity for a bishop. The seeds of the "true church," will hardly grow in this heretical soil; and powerful as are the exertions of the Jesuits everywhere else, in the United States this community is but little noticed, and it would have died away, if it had not been recruited from France and Italy. The Court of Rome, we hope,

will be satisfied with exercising its spiritual dominion over the southern part of the transatlantic hemisphere.

A particular mention ought to be made of a sect which is daily becoming more numerous in the Union, and is greatly adding to its numbers from the higher orders of society, I mean the Deists, or, as they call themselves, Unitarians*, who at present have their meeting-houses in almost every considerable town. There may be persons who find in their peculiar views and in the power of their minds, a compensation for the comforts which they reject by refusing their belief in revelation. We are far from interfering with them, only adding, that all their philosophical researches taken together, have not yet made a single *iota* of the New Testament superfluous. Whole congregations of male and female philosophers diffused throughout a continent, exhibit, however, too absurd a picture, to leave any doubt of their ultimate and even early extinction. That this may be the case, is devoutly to be wished by every friend of society, and by every reflecting man. There can be no doubt, that the

* Unitarianism in the United States, especially the Western, is pure Deism, and not as in England a partial belief in revelation.

prosperity of the Union, as a State, is seriously affected by the baneful principles of Infidelity and Deism. Where the barriers erected for the security of the individual are so few, and so easily to be overcome,—where none of those general ties called national habits, love of country, or veneration for the Constitution are to be found,—where the citizen parts with his house and removes to a foreign country, just as he would part with a bank-note,—where he is perpetually amending and altering his Constitution *, there ought to be at least one tie to bind him, which is placed beyond

* The mania for *improving* (as they have it) the Constitutions of the single States, and even that of the Union itself, is carried to such an extent, that during the last years (1825-1826) the question was seriously agitated in Kentucky and some of the South-western States, whether it would not be better for their greater independence to have no Constitution. Even the steady Pennsylvania begins to be infected with this mania for change, thinking it derogatory to its dignity, to be fettered by a Constitution framed by others, even were it the great legacy of Franklin himself. "We have the same right," exclaim these Backwood politicians, "nay, considering our advanced intellect and civilization, a greater right to frame laws for ourselves, than our ancestors in their ignorance of existing circumstances had to impose laws upon us." Whether to apply our pity or our contempt to such absurdities, is hardly worth the inquiry. We are certainly not unfavourable to political reforms rendered necessary by the progress of events, or by the spirit of the times; but we may be allowed to ask, What rank would Great Britain now hold among nations, had her Constitution been changed every year?

the reach of all contingencies, and which will not be affected by the workings of his fancy or by an overruling power, a tie to which, under every circumstance, he will shew proper respect and deference. Religion alone can be that tie, and no other than the Christian religion. The Union is well secured against the danger of religion becoming a political engine, as is the case in Europe. Unitarians may do in rotten monarchies where the Sovereign is the deity, and his will the law; but in a young and a free country, deistical congregations are a phenomenon from which our hearts and minds must recoil. Neither Rome, Greece, nor Switzerland, knew anything of them in the days of their splendour, and the wisest of all Greeks forfeited his life by poison, for having dared to confess these doctrines: Great Britain holds them in abhorrence. What guarantee can a Christian nation have that Unitarians chosen for magistrates will pay respect to its rights and its laws, which are both founded on Christian principles? Assuredly none! Whoever disregards the most respectable constitution of antiquity (if I may be allowed so to speak of Revelation), will not pay any respect to one of a more modern date; whosoever fancies him-

self raised above the common standard of intellect in these most important concerns, will not on any occasion defer to the opinions of others! I am well aware that some of the very first men of the Union, were Deists or Unitarians, and yet they were men whose intellectual powers and moral principles were firm enough to direct them in their course of life. But they are exceptions, and do not invalidate the truth of what has been urged: and if the great Franklin was a Deist, the still greater Washington was a Christian. That this philosophizing habit of mind, if it should extend further, must necessarily corrode the Constitution of the State, and be the source of the greatest evils, we are taught to apprehend from the example of a Western State, where the doctrine of Deism, as being the most convenient, is generally found to prevail. For this reason the majority of its citizens are devoid of honesty*, the State is without credit, its laws

* In the summer of 1825, four Kentuckians crossed the Ohio on their way from Cincinnati to their own State, with a negro whom they claimed as a runaway slave, and who was secured to the tail of one of their horses. As he was known in Cincinnati to be a free negro, several respectable citizens hastened to rescue the wretched victim from his oppressors. Accordingly the slave was taken from the four kidnappers in an almost dying state

are ineffectual, and the murderer lives unmolested. The recent history of Kentucky, is too well known to need any further illustration. Other causes may have combined to produce this deplorable condition; the general demoralization is assuredly owing to Unitarianism.

and secured in the county jail of Boon county. The four Kentuckians were cited to prove their right, and these four felons hesitated not a moment to make oath, one and all, that the negro was their slave. They were of course convicted of perjury by more than ten Cincinnati witnesses. But what may we not infer from the fact of four men, two of them farmers, combining together to effect their purpose by such infamous means.

Chapter XII.

The Lawyer—Courts of Common Pleas—Title Deeds—Remarks.

Two years ago I was obliged to attend the court at Indiana county, Pennsylvania. An important trial for a murder had gathered the whole county within the precincts of Indiana. Riflemen in their hunting coats, farmers on horseback, holding large sticks in their hands, and accompanied by their wives and daughters, who were also mounted on horseback, with baskets of eggs and apples hanging on each side, and hams suspended to the horses' necks. Here and there a country lawyer dismounting from his horse, taking his saddle-bag under his arms, and stalking into the tavern with all due self-importance in order to change his dress—these, and the venders of the dainties of these parts, gingerbread, apple-pies, cider, and ale, were the exhibitions that contributed to enliven Indiana for five days. I followed the throng rushing out of the town-inns, preceded by the honourable the President of the

Quarter Sessions, with a gentleman next to him, whose very plain and simple attire bespoke a farmer, but who was in reality the assistant-judge. The second assistant-judge walked behind them, supported by two gentlemen of the bar, as he was unable to bear up under the effect of the copious libations of spirits in which he had just indulged. It was on a Tuesday, and the court, which was opened on the preceding afternoon, was now about to commence business. When they arrived at the court-house, the judges took their seats in the tribune, below them was the prothonotary as clerk of the court, on his right on a bench sat the county officers, the coroner, the sheriff, the commissioners, and the jury. The lawyers arriving by degrees, to the number of twenty-five, from the several inns where they had been engaged in the important affair of making themselves popular, were placed in chairs round the rostrum.

The customary preliminaries of administering the oaths to the jury being gone through, the trial began. In the year 1823, a couple of oxen belonging to a man named Shara, were publicly sold in Indiana county for a debt due to a neighbouring farmer. Shara, enraged at the loss of his cattle, declared he would revenge himself,

and ran with full speed to the house of his prosecutor. On arriving there, he knocked the old man down, dragged him out, and despatched him with a club. The son of the victim, who, upon the entrance of Shara, had fled for assistance, met him on his return home. "Well, well," says Shara, "you may go home, your father has done for this life, he will not sell any more oxen." The murder was of so shocking a nature, that no one doubted of his being executed. A thousand dollars, however, which were collected by the Irish Catholic countrymen of the prisoner, engaged the powerful lungs of Mr. F—— in his service, and accordingly the prisoner was only found guilty of manslaughter, and thus escaped with three years imprisonment, perhaps with only one year, as it is an object of economy to save board and lodging in the Penitentiaries.

The next court, twenty-five miles distance, was held in Armstrong county in the succeeding week. One of the trials was as follows:—Two men came down the Alleghany River in a raft. Part of the raft having got loose, was carried for several miles down the river. A young farmer coming out of his house, and seeing it floating, got into his skiff, and when in the act of secur-

ing the timber, was met by the two fellows. One of them, without saying a word, levelled a blow at his head, and the unfortunate man dropped from his skiff into the water. His wife seeing the atrocious act, hastened to the county-town eighteen miles distant. The two men were arrested; they were tried, acquitted, and liberated. The previous permission of giving bail enabled them to dispose of their raft, and to raise one hundred dollars; for this sum Lawyer B—— undertook their defence, which ended in the result we have stated.

The next court held on the following week at Buttler county, twenty-five miles distant from the county-town of Armstrong, exhibited a scene of another description. A young man owed to a Mr. M—— ten dollars; having absconded without payment, the constable was desired to arrest him. This officer being prevented from doing so in person, requested a young man to act for him. The latter accordingly went in pursuit of the debtor, met him at a place two miles distant, and desired he would go along with him, but as he was not provided with a warrant, the debtor was in the act of going away: the young man, on seeing this, levelled

his gun, and shot him through the body. The murderer was committed to gaol, and at the present court was discharged by the aid of five hundred dollars paid to three lawyers for undertaking his defence. In this manner were three murderers acquitted in the space of three weeks. I am far from maintaining that the people of the United States are a lawless or a blood-thirsty race of savages. They yield in point of morality to no other people in the world; but should they in future have less moral feeling, it will be justly attributable to the lawyers. Provided you can hire them, there is scarcely any crime of which they would not undertake to save you from the penalty. *Exempla sunt odiosa.*

He who would have a true idea of the nature and extent of civil lawsuits, has only to refer to land titles for information. We shall confine ourselves to a few specimens. Pennsylvania was the property of the heirs of William Penn; the government, after having rescinded the grant by which it was held, indemnified them by tracts of land and a sum of money. To have the country surveyed, and to divide it into sections, as is the present practice in the New States, was not then thought of, and indeed could not have been

effected at a time when settlers and money were equally scarce. The Dutch and other foreign companies took immense sections of land for their pecuniary advances; private citizens were also purchasers, but the greatest part remained in the possession of the State. The question is not how the government should have acted, but that they acted injudiciously, is beyond all doubt. In order to accelerate the settlements, a law was enacted, securing to each *bonâ fide* settler four hundred and twenty acres of land. To have built a cabin on this estate, and to have slept in it three successive nights, were sufficient acts of possession to obtain the fee-simple from the land-office. This would have been well enough; there were however speculators, generally lawyers, who knew what lands were vacant, and endeavoured to establish settlers upon them; they then took out the necessary deeds from the office, and thus got possession of vast tracts, appertaining by right to the poor ignorant occupiers. Thousands of acres passed in this manner into the hands of these legal swindlers. Others got tracts of from fifteen to twenty thousand acres of regularly surveyed land, on the promise of forming settlements upon it, but the whole of

which grants were subject to forfeiture, in case of the non-performance of the contract within a stipulated time. During the period allowed them, they sold off many thousands of acres, but being unable to settle the whole, the land reverted to the State, and hundreds of poor families who had purchased from these intermediate proprietors, lost all their purchase money.

Others were even less scrupulous, and sold tracts of land to which they had not the least claim, the proprietors of which were residing in distant countries, and the deluded purchasers were compelled to buy the estates again. There are many farmers who purchased their lands two and three times.

Some of these gentlemen of the law went even a step further. In G——h there is a Judge President of the Quarter Sessions, a Mr. Y——g, a Scotchman by birth, who had come to the United States in rags and wretchedness; his desolate situation procured him friends, and amongst others, a lawyer, who instructed him in the mysteries of his profession. After he had been examined, and had received his license, he moved to G——h, where he applied himself to the study of the German language, in order to

make himself understood by the objects of his speculation. To acquire popularity, he went to the houses of his acquaintance with the farmer's daughters when they brought provisions, and by his agency, assisted them in selling their pigs, chickens, and other marketable commodities. The consequences exceeded his most sanguine hopes, and he became very popular with the unsuspecting descendants of the Germans. But the shrewd Scotchman wanted something more substantial than popularity. In A—— and W—— counties there were several highly improved farms, originally vacant lands. These were unquestionably the property of the farmers who had acquired them by the legal service, and who had only to procure their deeds from the land-office at Reading (now Harrisburgh), or to wait a few years longer until they had completed a settlement of twenty-one years. The poor people were ignorant of this last right. The Scotchman persuaded them that the land was his, as he had taken the titles from the land-office, but he would not disturb them if they would acknowledge themselves his tenants. The Germans fell into the snare, and thus from having been real proprietors of the soil, they became mere renters

of plantations, which, after immense labours and hardships, they had succeeded in clearing and improving. Houses, barns, everything is now the property of this "Honourable" impostor. Of the many poor dupes he thus entrapped, one alone applied for assistance, but of course in vain. This was the manner in which the Honourable President Judge Y——g came into the possession of more than eighteen thousand acres of land, with at least thirty farms, two-thirds of which are stolen property. These spoliations were at one time so frequent, that they constituted the principal source of wealth of the northern lawyers. The lawsuits to which they continue to give rise, are also an inexhaustible mine of treasure to them.

The commission sales are another. The proprietors of lands have to pay their county-taxes, whether the property be forest or improved. If the payment of this tax should fall into arrear for two years, the lands are sold by commissioners. As many of these proprietors live either in other States or in foreign countries, and are often without agents, these sales frequently occur. Speculators buy and resell them as their undisputed property. The real proprietors, notwith-

standing the public sale of their lands, are entitled at any time within twenty-one years to reclaim possession, and to redeem their estates, by defraying all the expenses incurred in the sale and purchase. Numerous suits are the necessary results of such laws, and the expenses are often two and three times greater than the actual value of the soil. I am particularly alluding to Pennsylvania and the Northern States. In some of the western, on the other side of the river Ohio, these proceedings are worse, especially in Kentucky, and thousands of families are there robbed of their property under the sanction of the existing laws. The foreign emigrant is recommended to be on his guard in those States where the lands are not sold by the central government, or by the land-office, and wherever the smallest doubt exists as to the soundness of the title, the safest way is always to apply to the land-office.

From Mr. Noah *, the right worshipful self-created taxer of his Hebrew brethren, down to

* That the uninformed reader may not suppose that I allude to the antediluvian Patriarch of this name, I beg to state for his information, that Mr. Noah is an American Jew who has recently published a manifesto constituting himself "Judge of Israel," and in this ancient character, is about to levy taxes on his Hebrew subjects throughout the world.

the rude country lawyer who became initiated in the mysteries of Themis and of Blackstone in the Backwoods, all enjoy themselves at the expense of others, uncontrolled and absolute in their dominion. This was not the case fifteen years ago; it was then next to impossible for a gentleman of the bar (in the country at least) to get elected member of Congress. There is no doubt that a revolution in America will never be effected by the bayonet, but by the artifices of the bar: this new political catastrophe is in slow but steady progress. As may be supposed, nineteen out of twenty of their lawyers are under the influence of Adams, and in possession of every office of distinction. Their profession is the high road to the Presidency, the Bureaux of the Secretaries of the Departments of the senatorial seats, and of the bench of representatives. They are in exclusive possession of the departments of justice in all their branches, and in the absence of an aristocracy they now constitute the gentry of the country, and inspire that sort of respect which is due to men who have life and property under their almost unbounded control.

Chapter XIII.

The Merchant—The Storekeeper—The Pedlar.

It must have been a curious spectacle for the people of Kingston and of Jamaica in general, some years ago, immediately before the opening of their ports, to have seen American vessels waiting at the entrance of the harbour, just as the mob is seen crowding the entrance of a theatre to secure the best shilling place, and when the port was opened, to have beheld these vessels rushing in, laden with every article of Yankee husbandry, in the true old republican way, garlics and onions hanging from the sides, and having on deck potatoes, cider, apples, peaches, and well-beloved whisky, just in the order in which you find them in the green market.

There is not indeed a place too distant, too desolate, or too dangerous, to deter Jonathan, if by the voyage he can make a little money. But notwithstanding this highly adventurous, or as they please to call it, enterprising spirit of their citizens, notwithstanding an extensive sea-coast, excellent

harbours, and a corresponding mercantile government, whose every measure is directed to encourage adventurous habits, the balance is still against them; they are falling off every year, the population becomes poorer, and the commerce is rather an evil than a blessing. They have not yet arrived at the point which has been attained, we need not say by Great Britain, but even by the less sagacious Dutchman, that of enjoying a trade and a credit beneficial to the community, as it is to the individuals, and which possesses the confidence of their fellow-citizens, and of foreigners.

One might at first be inclined to ascribe this want of confidence to the swarms of foreigners who have settled in the United States, and who, in their progress from extreme poverty to wealth, might be supposed to have been guilty of such practices as would destroy or endanger the commercial credit. No such thing: they are generally very circumspect, and are among the steadiest people (in the American sense of the word), in so far that they would rather sell their country than hazard the object for which they came to the Union—MONEY.

The cause of the discredit into which Ame-

rica has fallen, may be found in our Yankees themselves, and in that Hebrew spirit which is unfortunately fostered and encouraged by the government. It is a curious fact, which fully justifies the little confidence placed in the American mercantile character, that they are actually apprehensive of passing a bill which might have the effect of curtailing the facility afforded to bankruptcies, leaving these regulations to our well-known honesty. Though a motion was made during the last session of Congress, for introducing such a law, and has been repeated this session, yet it was not proceeded in, but was again laid on the table, and we must of course indulge a hope that it will lay there for several years, either until their credit is entirely gone, or they begin to love themselves less.

There are gentlemen, especially in the highly fashionable city of New York, who do not hesitate to begin a business with a capital of ten thousand dollars, which would require at least ten times the sum; but as something more is requisite for a merchant than mere Yankee tricks, the result is a failure. This, however, does not put his enterprising spirit out of countenance, and he next tries his fortune in Charlestown, establishes

himself with the assistance of friends who are his securities, and with the wreck of his property, and again fails in the following year. On he goes to New Orleans, and meeting there with a similar fate, he moves back to Mobile. Some time ago a Mr. H—— having failed in New Orleans, he was asked why he did not go to the North: "Where should I go" he replied ingenuously, "I have failed in Boston and in Charlestown, I might still go to Savannah, but I will try my luck in Mobile." A number of the first-rate houses in New York, Philadelphia, and New Orleans, have failed several times. This is considered as a mere trifle, they take another partner and begin again.

However hazardous may be the speculation, the wholesale merchants are not deterred from embarking in it. An adherence to one line of business, as was formerly the case with the English or with the Dutch, and even with the Germans, is quite out of the question with this commercial people: they would "make haste to be rich."

In Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, the merchants are acquiring a better character for steadiness. New York, however, still takes the lead among the adventurous. They will yet have

to endure many a shock before they are brought to comprehend that bank-notes are not eagles *; and that a fictitious capital is not real.

To a merchant possessed of a moderate capital, the United States no doubt present a flattering prospect. Perfect security for property, a firmly established government, unlimited commerce with almost every nation in the world, moderate taxes, the certainty of a fair profit in steady commercial speculations, are considerations and inducements sufficiently attractive for the honest and enterprising young merchant, and such prospects are not held out by any other country. The foreigners I am acquainted with here, with very few exceptions, have succeeded beyond their most sanguine hopes. New Orleans in particular may be recommended to wholesale and commission merchants on their first establishment in business. Of the state of commerce in this city we intend to speak more at length.

What the wholesale merchant is in the maritime cities, the storekeeper is in the country, a respected and influential member of the commonwealth. The storekeeper generally begins with very scanty means, not exceeding one thousand

* A gold coin of ten dollars.

dollars: as soon as he is provided with a license, he repairs to Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New York, where auctions afford him an opportunity of obtaining whatever is adapted to his wants. His goods are loaded and sent home, a store has been previously taken, the goods are put in order, and he commences his establishment as a second-rate merchant, or, as he is designated, a storekeeper. His store should contain groceries, such as brown and loaf sugar, tea, spices; pottery and glass, as plates, pots, tumblers, glasses, bottles; cutlery, knives, forks, scissors, &c.; locks and ironmongery of every description—hats, bonnets, boots, shoes, tin-wares, drugs, paintings, dyeing stuffs; all the appendages of a country toilette, shawls, ribands, linen, muslins, imitation Leghorn hats, brushes, all in peaceable company with hams, butter, cheese, whisky, brandy, gin, home-distilled wines, and a thousand other things, *quæ nunc prescribere longum est.* The country people have of course to pay twice the price demanded for the same article in Philadelphia. The storekeeper, however, cannot expect to be paid for his goods in cash, and is obliged to barter, if he wishes to have business. Flour, rye, wheat, whisky, maple-sugar, venison,

hams, pork, beef, eggs, butter, cheese, &c., are the articles he takes in return. His object is to sell these on the most advantageous terms; either in the town or in a sea-port. When his goods are sold, he again repairs to New York, Philadelphia, or any other convenient city, to renew his purchases. It is quite common with this class of people to amass, in the space of four or five years, a fortune of from ten to fifteen thousand dollars, without having any other notion of business than that of buying cheaply and selling to a profit: they never hazard anything, provided they give no credit. Their expenses are trifling; the license is fifteen dollars, the charges of conveyance from Baltimore to Wheeling, a distance of upwards of three hundred miles, amounts to three dollars for every hundred weight, tolls included.

If, however, brother Jonathan is not possessed of adequate means, he begins business as a pedlar, with a bundle under his arm of the value of from one to four pounds: these industrious people are seen moving about with neckerchiefs, penknives, and such articles for sale. Their mode of praising their ware is so unique, that it is really to be lamented that this eloquence should be thrown

away on such trifling objects. Brother Jonathan exhibits on these occasions, a patience truly singular; he will listen for half an hour to the oratory of his vagrant fellow-sovereign, will examine the goods, put them carefully back again in their former places, and turn his back without uttering a syllable. Our pedlar, however, is by no means discouraged; with the same ready eloquence he makes a second attack. One of these peripatetic Yankee merchants once offered to sell me a nutmeg; I was about to pay him, when it occurred to me to try it with my penknife. It was made of walnut-wood in so good an imitation, as to baffle detection unless tried with a knife. "Stop, Sir, there is another one," interrupted the Yankee, afraid of a further trial. I took it in order not to discompose the fellow, who in such cases was provided with one genuine amongst several imitations.

When the itinerant dealer has sold his goods, he procures a new stock, and in this way he goes on until industry transforms the pedlar with a bundle at his back, into the owner of a cart with a pony. He continues in this way, till he is able to settle himself in a county-town as a storekeeper, or to take up another mode of living.

We are now approaching the most numerous as well as the most solid and respectable class of society in the United States of North America, *viz.*, the farmers, who enjoy, in the full sense of the word, that *moral* liberty which others are deprived of through their own selfishness or their ambition.

Chapter XIV.

The Farmer.

If you are desirous of beholding the elegant farm which combines every species of agricultural pursuit, and exhibits, especially in the breed of cattle, a high degree of perfection, you may go to Massachusets, Rhodisland, and New York, and you will even find in the environs of Boston, Providence, and New York, farms rivalling those of England, although a smaller capital is employed upon them.

If you wish to see the *solid* farmer who prides himself upon shewing his lands in the most improved state, you should visit the German-American about Germantown, Reading, Lebanon, and Lancaster in Pennsylvania; and you readily discover the traits of German descent in a breed of horses more robust, but less elegant, and in a less degree of attention to the breed of cattle, but you will see fields highly cultivated and protected by substantial fences, together with solid farm-buildings.

The poor German or Irish settler, whose hard beginning is neither favoured by capital, nor by property acquired by inheritance, and who has no other resources than his faithful axe, and the labour of himself and of his wife, will be found in the north-eastern part of Pennsylvania. Incessant hard labour, during twenty-five years, though it has left him a contented, has not made him a wealthy, freeholder. His industrious habits have become natural, and though in the possession of two or four hundred acres of land, and perhaps more, he undergoes the same fatigues and toils as at his first outset. Many of these people came twenty or twenty-five years ago to America, and were sold as redemptionists; in a few years they earned their freedom, and their first business was to marry, and in the company of their buxom wives to travel to the western part of Pennsylvania. There, perhaps, they found an unsettled tract of land, became naturalized, and after a few years they took out the fee-simple from the land-office, and thus grew into independent freeholders.

The gentleman farmer lives in a style of proud hospitality; a tobacco planter on the James river (in Virginia), surrounded by a herd of slaves

whom he is now selling, like a true aristocrat, to Louisiana, his lands beginning to be exhausted by frequent tobacco crops.

His descent from four or five ancestors who before him were possessed of this plantation, and having a certain number of tenants to whom he leases small parcels of poor lands which he cannot turn to any account, and who always appear before him with hat in hand, are circumstances which have contributed to give him an idea of self-importance, have tended to disturb his notions of republican freedom, and to establish in his mind the firm conviction, that his own will is to be the supreme law to all who are so happy as to come into contact with so consequential a personage.

There is nothing repugnant to his feelings in the thought of transforming his plantation into a lordship. He declares, without disguise, that Virginia and its appendages, the other twenty-three States, will never be happy unless the constitution of Great Britain be introduced, at least so far as relates to Lords and Commons. In this case he would condescend to accept the title and dignity of a lord, leaving the Commons to

his poor d——s of neighbours, the people of Pennsylvania and New York.

However great has been the progress of agriculture in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, in many points, Ohio and Illinois have got the start of them. Nowhere will the energy and enterprising spirit of the American farmer be seen to such advantage as in the latter States. Nature has destined Pennsylvania rather for a manufacturing country, owing to its inexhaustible mines of coal, iron-ore, and perhaps precious metals. New York and the New England States are invited to commercial pursuits by the vicinity of the Atlantic shores, whereas the inhabitants of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, must of necessity be farmers. And if we are to judge from what has been done in the thirty-six years of the settlement of these States, farming will obtain in it the highest degree of perfection.

It is truly astonishing what the labour of a few years, and, comparatively speaking, of a few hands, has performed in these countries. He who traverses the colossal maple, and beech forests of Ohio, will often unexpectedly enter a lane which runs deep into the woods and indi-

cates a farm. The fences are quite new; the fields bear a striking resemblance to a decaying forest, the immense trees had been killed in the preceding spring by means of a wide ring cut into the bark to prevent the rising of the sap.

Between these withered trees Welshcorn is planted, which, notwithstanding the branches that are strewed upon the ground, and the luxuriant growth of underwood and weeds of every description, springs up with astonishing rapidity. A second lane brings you to the humble mansion of the farmer; and judging from the grayish aspect of the fences, and of the barkless trees, whose feebler branches having disappeared, stretch their giant arms into the air in proud memorial of their former grandeur, you will conclude, this land has been under improvement for two years. The finest wheat grows between the trees, and rises to the height of a man. As you advance, the ridge declines into bottom lands, and the meadows appear. Here the trees are partly killed, partly verdant, to protect the grass from the rays of the sun. On the other side are the orchard newly laid out, parcels of land for hemp and flax, and close to the house the kitchen-garden. The dwelling-house is built with logs, having the

intervals filled up with loam and gravel intermixed with lime, and generally contains no more than one room. The chimney on the outside is either built of stone or of wood, in which latter case the interstices are also filled up so as to resist the fire.

The inside of the house, or rather of the room, shows the cleanliness and economy of the incipient settler, who has for the present renounced all idea of comfort. On the walls of this room, which also serves for a kitchen, close to the chimney the culinary utensils are suspended; these are followed by horse-whips, one or two rifles, and the wardrobe of the farmer and his wife. The walls are covered with old newspapers in lieu of tapestry, and they may help to pass away your time for an hour or two. The huge connubial bed is placed in the background, and below that, one of smaller dimensions for the younger members of the family. Round the house runs a fence, outside of which, at some distance, is the double log-barn for threshing, with a large aperture, instead of a door, for taking in the grain. Under this barn are the stables for cattle and horses, and on each side are smaller receptacles for corn, with two or three pigsties;

the chickens, turkeys, and hogs, which are not intended for fattening, pass the night in the woods. These improvements are the work of two years.

The possessor of this farm is a German or an Anglo-American, Yankee, New Yorkian, or Pennsylvanian. After the decease of his father he inherited a fifth part of the farm lands, his brothers having each an equal share, the daughters receiving theirs in money. He improved his inheritance by erecting, with the assistance of his neighbours and relations, the necessary farm buildings, and by turning his inheritance to the best possible account. By-and-by, however, his family increased, as he, like his Yankee brethren, had lost no time in marrying. He resolves, therefore, upon settling in the west. A purchaser for his property being found, and the necessary money provided, he mounts a good horse, and starts for the Western States. The journey there and back may be between fifteen hundred and two thousand miles, but this is no obstacle to him. If relations have settled before him in the west, he takes care to call upon them, in order to obtain information about the quality of land. If he has no connexions there, he is

provided with a map, and searches for such as are best suited to his purpose, and with which he is sufficiently acquainted by the official accounts of surveyors, and by the information of his countrymen.

He may rely on meeting everywhere the warmest encouragement to settle. Distrustful, however, of the sincerity of his informants, who generally praise their lands in the most extravagant manner in order to attract settlers, he examines everything himself, preferring to sleep for some nights under the canopy of heaven, rather than trust their interested praise.

If an Anglo-American, he will be determined in the selection of the spot he is in search of, not only by its fertility, but by the vicinity of a river, or at least of a creek, which affords him the prospect of erecting future mills or manufactories; coal mines are equally objects of his search. If he be of German descent, he will probably seek only for good land, without considering that, though he may be likely to raise more produce, he will sell to less profit than his more prudent neighbour.

Having at last found the desired tract, and which has not yet been bought by a land specu-

lator or by another settler (a circumstance he ascertains from the next farmer), he repairs to the land-office, and pays two hundred and sixty-six dollars, one-third of the price for a section of six hundred and forty acres—if he purchases two sections, then double that sum. Having settled this business, he returns, and having sold his farm of fifty acres at the rate of thirty dollars per acre, the common price for middle land in the Eastern States, he has a capital of fifteen hundred dollars. His grain, his cattle, his furniture, are disposed of at an auction held in his house, and produce him a thousand dollars more. Out of the sale of his property, thus amounting to two thousand five hundred dollars, he may expect at least one half in ready money. His most necessary domestic or kitchen utensils, his furniture, bedding, together with flax, hemp, and wool, for the employment of the women during the winter evenings, and some dozens of hams, with cheeses, the necessary supply of tea, coffee, and sugar, half a barrel of whisky, dried apples and peaches, are all loaded on two waggons, having each two or more horses. With this equipage he starts for his new settlement. The passengers consist of himself, his wife, probably

two or three grown daughters, as many sturdy lads, and two or three children, generally forming together a family of from nine to ten members.

The expenses of the journey are comparatively trifling. The provisions, such as meat, bread, Indian corn for the horses, are sold to them in taverns, always at the market price. They prepare their own meals, and use their own bedding on the journey. These emigrations are so numerous, that the tavern-keepers seldom dare to take advantage of the travellers, impatient as the landladies may sometimes be at the girls running about their premises. When they start, the sons carry their rifles, and kill such game as they may find by the way; the daughters are knitting on the waggons, or walking by the side of them, dressed in a clean, and often in an elegant, attire. After a journey of from three to four weeks, they arrive at the land of promise. They usually set out in the beginning of autumn, the finest season in North America.

On their arrival, accommodations for the first week are found at the next farm. The farmers with their sons, for the distance of from four to five miles, are invited to the *frolic* (as it is

termed) of cutting down timber, an invitation they never decline. From forty to fifty axes resound in the woods; the timber is prepared in a few days, and the log-cabin is erected at the place determined upon, which is always, if possible, near a spring. The neighbouring farmers and their sons who assist, are treated with plenty of whisky and provisions. The roofing and the building of the chimney are left to the new settler. Boards for the floor and the ceiling are procured from the next saw-mill, and in a few weeks the house is ready to receive its new inmates. The windows and doors are finished after they have taken possession of the house. In the mean-time, the bed-linen and the under garments of the female part of the family serve for windows, until the carpenters (who are now to be found everywhere) have finished their work.

The next principal care of the settler, is to clear as many acres as are thought necessary to satisfy the demands of the ensuing year. Having at least one thousand two hundred and fifty dollars out of the sale of his property, of which he applies five hundred and thirty-three dollars in payment of the first-third of his two sections, he has now six hundred dollars after deducting his travelling expenses: with this sum he will

be able to perform much in the way of improvement. For the clearing of one acre, which is effected, as we have stated, by ringing the trees to destroy vegetation, he pays from three to four dollars—for a hundred fencing rails, twenty-five cents—and to a journeyman for a day's work a similar sum. With one hundred dollars he may clear before the next spring about twenty or thirty acres, and surround them with fences. This is sufficient for the first year.

Generally he divides the cleared lands into three parts; the first is allotted to Indian corn, the principal object with an American farmer, the second to summer wheat, the third is appropriated partly to meadows, and the rest is planted with potatoes, hemp, and flax. The laying out of an orchard is reserved for the following year. He procures cattle without delay, and is enabled to keep them at little expense during the winter; in the spring, summer, and fall, they find sufficient food in the woods. The neighbours, four weeks after his arrival, are again invited to assist him in the erection of a barn, and from fifty to sixty youths join in this "frolic," in return for which act of complaisance he is likewise to appear with his sons if called upon.

The expenses of his household are not very

great, though he has to buy almost everything, a circumstance which is always a great drawback to a farmer. With a hundred bushels of corn, he will be able to keep four horses till the next harvest, and with one hundred dollars more he provides for the necessities of his household. Want of occupation is what neither he nor his family can have to complain of. During the winter the upper room is put in order, if a snow falls they go out hunting, and seldom return without having killed a deer, or at least some wild turkeys. The females remain spinning, weaving, and knitting for the family, who, for the subsequent two years, wear only home-made clothes—the winter passes on with these and similar occupations. Their peace is seldom interrupted, unless the cows, which they have bought from a neighbouring farmer, have strayed, or returned to their former home. This is generally an occasion of trouble twice in every week.

As spring approaches, they proceed to clear the lands. When this is done they commence sowing corn, wheat, and grass seeds. The intermediate time between sowing and harvest, is employed in eradicating underwood, which is done by ploughing with a single horse between

the rows of maize. The harvest yields the farmer at least sixty times his seed, and he has raised upwards of four hundred bushels of wheat, six hundred bushels of Indian corn, and sufficient hay for his horses. The first and most difficult year is over.

Before the next autumn he can with ease clear, at least, from fifty to sixty acres, which are again divided and improved in the manner we have stated. He now thinks of laying out his orchard, for which he reserves from three to four acres. His capital is already doubled, and his lands, two sections of which cost him one thousand six hundred dollars, he would not part with for less than three thousand. In this way he improves his estate, and increases his wealth the more rapidly, as his enterprising industry is neither checked by the prejudice of established usage, repressed by timidity, nor over-ruled by arbitrary power.

If we proceed three or four miles further on, the next farm will exhibit, in the clearest light, a proof of what the estate we have just described will be in the course of six or seven years. The underwood and huge barkless trees are gone from the fields adjoining the house, though in the

more distant part of the farm they are still seen. Two hundred acres of the best lands are cleared and covered with beautiful wheat, corn, grass, tobacco, and other products of a more southern climate. For oats and rye the soil is too strong, they grow too rapidly, and even the potatoes are not mealy.

The original rude fences have been replaced by a more elegant and solid enclosure of the fields next to the farm-house and the orchard. The house is surrounded with a light railing, which encloses a neat kitchen and peach-garden, through which a wide avenue from thirty to forty feet long leads to the double steps which terminate in a staircase: the entrance is frequently supported by pillars. The American farmer is never deterred, by that modesty in his building plans, which distinguishes those of other countries. He will build his house in the same style as the President, who is like himself a farmer. There are farm-houses erected in the Gothic, Italian, or Greek styles, just as the taste or fancy of their possessors may dictate.

The inside of the house shows wealth and comfort, without any strict adherence to the rules of fashion. The parlour is carpeted; in-

stead of the rude chimney, where wood formerly was consumed, you observe the elegant iron coal grate, the *sine qua non* of an American fireside! A sofa, a dozen of imitation Windsor chairs, a sideboard covered with four or five bottles containing rum, whisky, brandy, gin, ingredients for the much-beloved doddy, and a looking-glass above the mantel-piece, constitute the furniture of the parlour: the rest of the house is fitted up in an equal style of comfort. The same man who eight years ago was hardly worth three thousand dollars, has now a property of twenty thousand, for which he is indebted to an enterprising industry, and to a magnanimous renunciation of most of the comforts of life for six months. This is the mode pursued by thousands, and aided by a sound understanding and an active and persevering spirit, it will always lead to the same results—wealth and independence.

The Englishman reproaches the American farmer for his wandering, or rather his adventurous, disposition. That the Yankee merchant, the lawyer, the physician, the speculating boarding-schoolmistress, with her niece or daughter on her hands, should emigrate to the land of promise, the cities of New Orleans and Natchez, in spite

of the yellow fever, which not unfrequently carries off some thousands of these vagrants, does not excite his wonder; but when he sees the steady and respectable farmer, quitting, without hesitation, his native place, his relations, all the dearest social ties, and removing to a distance—not of fifty or a hundred, but of six or eight hundred miles—this he conceives argues an adventurous, restless, and erratic disposition; which only looks to self-advantage. The correctness of this opinion, I think, will have been disproved, by the specimen the reader has just had of difficulties overcome, and comfort established. Did the American yield to excessive sensibility, either in personal or local attachments, the beautiful plains of the west would remain unoccupied and deserted. That John Bull does not quite relish brother Jonathan's establishment in the western and south-western parts of the Union, especially toward the Pacific Ocean, is well known, though his declamatory vituperations may be less owing to his moral sensibilities, than to a certain patriotic aversion not yet entirely subdued. This, however, is ungenerous; for in spite of all trifling discussions and bickerings, John Bull is now a greater fa-

vourite with Jonathan than ever; and if John is wise he will neither break off from his kinsman, which could be of no advantage to him, nor treat him with a contempt which he does not deserve.

To return to our farmer. His taxes are trifling; the two most important are the county and the road-tax. The first is destined to defray the judicial and other expenses of the county, and its amount is from a half, to one and two cents per acre, most of which tax is paid in county bills which the farmer receives as a recompense for his attendance as juryman and for other services. The road-tax is only paid in case he should refuse to work in person, or by means of his servants on the public roads. The only serious difficulty to which the American farmer has been exposed during the last six years, and which rendered his situation less favourable, is the want of a market for his produce. As long as wars continued, America, from its neutrality, became to a certain extent the granary of Europe. As the exportations of flour amounted in the year 1817, to nearly twenty millions of dollars, the farmer found a ready demand, and by means of the vast water communications, his produce

could be easily transported to a maritime town. These times are past, and the change has been for the worse, the export of flour declining from twenty to four millions. The sea-ports are accordingly over-stocked with pork, beef, and flour, to an immense amount. In New Orleans the farmer of Ohio and Kentucky, Indiana or Illinois, may have a better chance of a market, but even in the spring of the year 1826, flour was to be had in abundance at two and a half and three dollars a barrel. However great may be the increase of population in cities, it is not in proportion to the supply.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, however, the farmers have still considerable resources, of which they make but an indifferent use. The breeding of cattle and sheep will always secure a considerable return. These latter, even in the Northern States, have been too much neglected, though an improvement is commencing in their sheep, by crossing them with the Saxon breed, purchased at a very high price, from two to four hundred dollars a head. Cider and whisky are generally sold at good prices; and the two canals between the river Ohio and Lake Erie, with the great canal of New York,

and the growth of silk, which it is intended to promote, as we find by a report of the Secretary of the Treasury, cannot fail to give a new impulse to the agricultural population of the Union.

What principally distinguishes the American farmer from the farmers of other countries, is the circumstance that his agricultural pursuits never make him lose sight of the citizen and republican. Three objects engage his particular attention: his country and its offices—the State which he inhabits with its representatives, senators, and governor—and, finally, the Congress of the Union. The other States are only of interest to him, as he may be connected with them in any occurrence, or as they come in collision with his own. The affairs of foreign countries, with the exception of England, are indifferent to him. He claims not only the right to elect his own officers and magistrates, but to prescribe to them (in meetings convened for the occasion) the measures they are expected to adopt, watching their proceedings with the distrustful eye of a true republican. His deficiency of knowledge in political affairs, he supplies by a due portion of suspicion: this is especially directed against lawyers; and whatever character and forms they may

assume for a time, his common sense never fails to detect and to see things in their true light. He obliges the member of the Assembly and Congress to lay before him, in particular cases, the questions to be decided upon. From the constable up to the President, he is accustomed to consider his magistrate as the public servant, who is bound to act according to the public will. If a functionary fail in his duty, meetings are convened, proceedings are organized, and resolutions passed either in approval or disapprobation of his conduct. All this is done in a style of perspicuity, the very reverse of diplomatical. These resolutions pass from country papers to numberless others. His independence is greatly nourished by his solitary mode of living in the woods, (his residence being at a distance of from one to two miles from his nearest neighbour,) a course of life which originated in necessity and at last became familiar to him. A more populous neighbourhood would be painful to his love of independence, and he would rather renounce all intercourse with his neighbours, than alter his unsocial habits. Villages are inhabited by journeymen, trades-people, tavern-keepers, blacksmiths, &c., who hold small parcels of land,

but from whom the farmer, properly so called, lives at some distance. After the lawyers, the farmers and planters are the most numerous in the Congress of the United States. It is much to be wished, however, that their knowledge would keep pace with their independence and industrious habits, as the distance between them and their co-senators the lawyers, is much too disproportioned.

They maintain the same spirit of independence in respect to all other professions, and firmly adhere to their own mode of life, drinking, if necessary, tea raised on their own lands, and speedily adjusting disputes with their neighbours, thus baffling storekeepers and lawyers. Even the ties which unite him to his preacher are not very binding, to whose support, if he be not pleased, he refuses to subscribe; he will read his Bible at home, or choose another meeting-house. In short, he may be considered as an independent man; than whom, no one enjoys more liberty in its widest sense, or is more conscious of his self-importance.

Chapter XV.

The Militia.

Little as the American cares about titles and distinctions unless they are connected with the main-spring of all his actions, money-making, he is not indifferent to the title of captain, major, or colonel of the militia, and he seldom refuses these honours when offered to him, although his years might excuse him from military service. Every citizen, from the age of twenty-one to forty-five, is obliged to serve in the militia: none are exempt but magistrates, the clergy, physicians, and teachers. The opulent join volunteer companies, the less wealthy attach themselves to rifle corps, while the poor, and those less fond of military parade, are enrolled in the militia of their country. The volunteers in their appearance differ very little from the regulars, and are considered to have a very martial air. They wear blue uniforms, a ci-devant hat transformed into a czacko with a cockade, and home-made sashes; these, and epaulettes made of a piece of sheep-

skin, pantaloons, and Monroe boots, a musket, and a sabre, complete the equipment of a volunteer. The officers are rather better dressed, with sashes and silver epaulettes; the serjeant has the latter of an immense size, of tinsel. The rifleman wears a cotton dress, with white or red lace, a fur cap, pantaloons and shoes, a hunting-pouch instead of the cartridge-box, an immense powder-horn, and a poignard by his side. The officers wear the same dress, but of finer materials. The militia-men appear in their common dress, with their rifles, and frequently with a stick. The standard is procured at the expense of the county, the ladies supplying the ribands. When the officers are chosen, a time and place are appointed, the latter generally a tavern, at which the militia are to meet. The subalterns and captains are chosen by their companies, the majors by the battalion, the colonels by the regiments, and the brigadier-generals by the brigade. The election of the staff officers is confirmed by the governor, as Commander-in-chief of the State militia. At the election of officers, the vote of the common soldier is equivalent to that of the major, who at the next election may happen to be in the ranks as a private.

The officer elected never fails to show his gratitude for the honour done to him, by treating the voters with a quantity of whisky or brandy, sufficient to make many of them miss both horse and road, and take up a night's lodging in a turnpike ditch. Every captain has the right to call out his men for field exercise. It would not, however, be advisable in him to make too frequent a use of his privilege, unless he wishes to be turned again into a militia-man in the following year. Two fifes and as many drums constitute the whole of the military band. Brigade reviews are held twice a year, and every militia-man has to appear on these occasions, unless he chooses to pay a fine. The Washington guards, the county volunteers and guards, riflemen, and the rest of the militia, all appear together at these reviews. The staff-officers arrive on horseback, and are dressed in blue, with immense scarfs not unlike the grand cordon of a military order, large epaulettes, and a sword left behind by some English dragoon, and either round or three-cornered hats, according to the taste of the wearers.

The brigade being assembled, they put themselves in motion, first parading through the town,

and if there is but one street, they march three or four times up and down, and then on an open space, where they exhibit their progress in military evolutions. If one or two companies happen to keep in something like military order, the rest do all they can to bring the whole again into confusion, in spite of every remonstrance from the officers. Brother Jonathan is too fond of his liberty not to avail himself even of this opportunity to manifest it. The defects of military science are supplied by dexterity in shooting at a mark, and among two thousand riflemen in the interior of the country, there are hardly five hundred who are not capable of shooting a squirrel at the distance of eighty yards.

Some years ago a Frenchman from N——, accompanied by his lady, came to see me. He had served as an officer under Buonaparte. We went in a carriage to the review of N—— county. The Frenchman thought the evolutions abominable, and indeed the men were all stumbling and marching in the utmost disorder and confusion, talking, smoking cigars, and even taking drams from the bottles they carried about them, without the least attention from the officers to such unmilitary practices; which were truly disgusting to the

eye of our Frenchman. An hour's rest to the troops gave him an opportunity of opening his mind to the brigadier. "Well, well," replied the American, "still we could beat you Frenchmen, and I will show you how." The riflemen came forward and began shooting at a mark. After twenty-five had discharged their rifles, the Frenchman, who at first indignantly shook his head, expressed his opinion that in such a Backwood country as Pennsylvania, riflemen, though they were no soldiers, could be of some use.

Captain B——, a young lawyer, desirous of showing to his lady the extent of the authority with which he was invested, commanded his troops to march at a time when the guards were regaling themselves with twelve bottles of porter; he ordered them immediately to be taken away. "D—n," exclaimed his men, "he shan't take our porter from us again." Accordingly Captain B—— turned out next year as a common militia-man, and so general was his unpopularity in consequence of the act, that he also failed in his electioneering campaign for the Assembly of the State.

It is much to be wished, however, that the higher ranks in the militia were filled by

men, who, besides other qualifications, had at least some notion of the military science. At present the Union can place very little reliance on the one million eight hundred thousand militia-men, as is sufficiently proved by the war of 1812, and the numerous reverses during its continuance. As Jacksons and cotton bales are not to be found everywhere, it would be but just as well as politic, to place the flower of the American population on such a footing, as to inspire other nations with some respect, and prevent the militia from being any longer a laughing-stock to foreigners who visit the country. If the mob of Philadelphia have shown of what they are capable, by choosing the hostler Pluck for a colonel of a regiment, and by compelling Governor Shulze to approve their choice, we do not quarrel with *them* for the absurdity; but if the better classes of society can find the broom and corn sticks of the militia-men, and the periwigs and mock dresses of their colonel, so very entertaining, we must be permitted to judge of their understanding accordingly. That the militia system must be reformed, is beyond all doubt; but if it is proper to effect this reformation by turning military rank, already suf-

ficiently degraded from the circumstance of every tavern-keeper being a colonel, into ridicule and contempt, then the citizens only prove that they are undeserving the privilege of electing their own officers.

Chapter XVI.

Physicians.

I am aware that the Americans will take offence at many things which I have mentioned in the progress of these pages, but the fault is not mine. They would fain persuade the world that their physicians are of the very first order, and that their medical institutions are even superior to those of Europe. We know this proneness to exaggeration, and it is but fair to correct it. Their best medical institutions, the Harward, New York, and Philadelphia Universities, the Bowdoin and Dartmouth Colleges, are in no respect to be compared with those of London, Edinburgh, Vienna, Paris, and Berlin. Several branches, such as anatomy, materia medica, theoretic and practical medicine, chemistry, are well taught, and in these the American physicians have made some progress; but this is all that can be said. Botany, physiology, and the higher branches of medical science are considered to be superfluous; and although these medical or rather surgical

institutions are regularly resorted to, the number of students bears no comparison to the increasing population; at the most they but supply the wants of the larger cities. Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, &c., have experienced physicians. Several of them have studied in London or Paris, the greater number in the American Universities; and though these latter might be rather called surgeons than physicians, yet many of them have acquired by private study that information which the universities are not able to afford them. But the number of physicians is wholly inadequate to the demands of the country, and even in the cities, only the wealthiest people can apply to physicians, who are paid for their visits at an enormous price. Persons of less fortune must therefore resort to family medicines or to druggists.

In the country, however, there is an evil beyond all bounds, every quack being freely allowed to practice. The generality of "*doctors*," as they call themselves, are Irishmen or Germans, who have served in some foreign troops, and who begin their career either with false testimonials, or with none. They usually announce themselves as coming from London, Edinburgh, or

Paris, to offer the benefit of their experience to the inhabitants of the county. If the medical vagrant happens to be questioned about his credentials, he regrets having lost them during a stormy passage at sea, but he will write immediately for duplicates to the medical faculty in Paris or Edinburgh, the members of which are all on most intimate terms with him, and will not fail to give ample testimonials of his great abilities. Whatever may be the complaints of his patients, he never fails to administer his sovereign remedy —mercury. The mischief which these quacks are doing in the country is incredible. An amiable young couple in A——g county, lost, by the ignorance of a would-be doctor of this kind, two of their children in four weeks; the third and last was at the point of death, when the parents sent for a physician to Pittsburgh, who restored the child to health in less than twenty-four hours. I shall abstain from mentioning any other victims of these empirics; suffice it to say that the evil exceeds all bounds, and that there is assuredly no civilized nation where the life and health of its citizens are less secure than in the United States of North America.

In the Western States, Ohio, Kentucky, &c.

the physicians, or rather surgeons, have formed societies after the manner of the clergy, into which none are received until duly examined and approved of. Although the knowledge of these *soi disant* doctors is confined to a little surgery and the administering of drugs, this measure has already been attended with salutary effects to the States. In the legislature of Pennsylvania, a motion which had been made on the subject, of not being allowed to practise without proper testimonials, was thrown out.

The foregoing is a short but a true sketch of a profession so respectable in itself, and so important to the welfare of the human race. To the scarcity of well-educated medical men, may be attributed that mortality which is far greater in the Union than in any portion of the European continent, Holland excepted. Much of it may be owing to the variations of climate, manner of living, &c. The want of proper physicians however, may be another cause; but the principal reason may be found in the ignorance of these quacks, who, administering nothing but calomel, destroy a great part of the younger population when yet in its infancy. Very few Americans are found to retain their teeth to the age of

thirty. Rheumatisms and consumptions are the frequent and ordinary consequences of perverted medical treatment.

Few people are more indifferent to the preservation of their health. However willing an American may be to pay the exorbitant charges of his pseudo-doctor, and the expenses of his sickness, he is reckless of its result. His life has been exposed to so many hardships, dangers, and hair-breadth escapes, that he looks with a certain degree of resignation, or rather apathy, on its termination; and even when it has not been so adventurous, his cold and indifferent nature never forsakes him in his last moments.

Chapter XVII.

Manufacturers—Tradesmen.

Nothing can exceed the admiration with which everything from England is regarded by the Americans. From a pin, to the splendid dress, all is universally sought for; and an American lady would think herself exceedingly unfashionable, if she could not sport even a second-hand reticule from England, and display it to public gaze. However Jonathan may pride himself upon his own unlimited freedom, and despise the rest of mankind whom he deems slaves, to England he pays the utmost deference, though much against his inclination, and English manners and (in fashionable houses) English furniture and dress prevail to the absolute exclusion of those of every other nation. In this he differs widely from the English ladies, who think themselves quite out of fashion, unless France has contributed to their embellishment. That the superiority of England is shewn by this predilection

for her manufactures, there can be no doubt; and while this predilection exists (and it will exist so long as American merchants persist in being the mere brokers of England), her manufactures will always have a decided advantage over domestic ones.

But there is another observation to be made, however unpalatable. Though they may happen to get a tailor for their next P——t, there is in the southern and south-western States, a secret pride which scorns every kind of handy-craft work. To buy every article from other countries, and to have, as it were, foreign nations for workmen, is so gratifying to republican pride, that although money is in the estimation of the Americans the only object worth living for, they disregard the advantages resulting from manufactures, they sell the raw material, and buy the manufactured articles at three times the value. To this pride we are indebted for those specimens of eloquence and sound judgment delivered some ten years ago in Congress, to the effect that "the increase of manufactures is not to be encouraged, because the population would crowd to manufactories and produce all the evils attendant upon them, such as debility, sickness, or an enervated

generation." Jonathan is aware that being without money he can no longer sustain the part of a gentleman, and have his tradesmen in Europe; he therefore sends a number of Yankee spies into the manufacturing districts of England, who acquire as much of the manufacturing system as they are permitted to do, and having thus obtained sufficient information, he is beginning to establish manufactories after these models.

Massachusets and Pennsylvania may be considered as taking the lead. The cotton and cloth manufactures of the former, already rival those of other nations. This latter State has now one hundred and thirty-six manufactories of different kinds: New York has nearly the same number. Pennsylvania excels in iron, cloth, and glass, although the iron wares of this State, cannot yet vie with those of Great Britain. Of the glass and cloth manufactories, however, some are found, such as Bakewell and Co., in Pittsburgh, with others in Philadelphia and Lancaster, which are assuredly not inferior to the most improved establishments of the kind. American cloth and cotton goods are now worn even by fashionables, and the latter are beginning to be much in vogue.

The advantage which the American commis-

sion merchant derives from the commerce with Great Britain, outweighs the interest he would otherwise take in patronising his own manufactures. He is mostly inclined to lay out his capital in mercantile undertakings, or in shipping business, leaving internal improvement to foreigners.

The government evince a great desire to promote the manufacturing establishments, and the tariff of 1824, has already contributed, in a great measure, to rouse a spirit of enterprise, and to direct it to that object. To foreign manufacturers possessing some capital, the United States can at no time offer so many inducements as at the present moment. The cheapness of every article of food, the low rate of wages, and the ready market presented by the Western States, will infallibly secure success to such an undertaking.

Two years ago Mr. B—— arrived in New York, from Great Britain. Wanting a new suit of clothes he was directed to a tailor in Water Street; he goes there and has his measure taken, and in two days his dress is to be sent home. On the following morning he accompanies one of his friends, a respectable merchant in the city, to

visit the Mechanics Bank, where he meets his tailor, with whom his friend enters into close conversation, and who promises to send him next morning ten thousand dollars. "What, for heaven's sake, has my tailor to do with the Bank?" asked Mr. B——, who had listened to the colloquy. "Very much indeed! he is the president of it!" A tailor, president of a bank, having a capital amounting to more than a million of dollars, was a financial anomaly to the Englishman; however, not a word of astonishment escaped him. On the next day they went to the parade of a militia regiment, in which his friend held the rank of captain. The staff makes its appearance; the young Englishman beholds his tailor dressed as a General, and commanding with such an air of authority, that on his return he exclaimed, "I would rather go to the devil than to this tailor: I should not know how to address him." "Well," replied Mr. C—— "you address him as plain Mr. N—— and nothing more."

To these functions our tailor adds another of no less importance, that of a member of the city council. He still carries on his business, and has lately taken a partner.

Mr. W—— a tailor in the same city, was colonel of a militia regiment. When on the parade, and at the head of his regiment, he was asked by one of his officers "whether his coat was ready?" "You may ask me that question when I am in my workshop, now I am a General. You will give up your sword, and put yourself under arrest." He did so to the no small satisfaction of his brother officers.

Thus it is all over the Northern States; and a coppersmith or a confectioner may keep one of the most fashionable houses, and receive the best company in the State, be elected a member of the Assembly, of the Senate, or of Congress; and in fact many of the legislative Solons are carpenters, potters, and masons. There is much sound judgment in all this. The American will always be found to proportion his esteem to the talents, the enterprise, and the success of an individual without distinction, although at first he may be distrustful and suspicious of the foreigner. The exemplary pastor will enjoy universal popularity; the eloquent speaker at the bar may be called his oracle; while he looks at the mere lawyer, or preacher, with perfect indifference.

Whosoever combines talents with industry,

may be sure of meeting with patronage, and even with occasional pecuniary assistance. There is certainly not a nation whose citizens are less prejudiced against emigrants or foreign artists. The enterprising, active, and wealthy mechanic, ranks with the eminent lawyer in the Northern States, and may aspire to the most distinguished stations.

In the Southern States the case is rather different, and lawyers, planters, and merchants, are treated with a decided preference. As however, fewer opportunities are afforded for mechanics to evince very high talents, the less so as their mental improvement is generally not of the highest order, they are kept (even in the north) in that class which is most suited to their situation in life. This is also the case in other countries, with this difference, that talents and persevering industry *may* lead in the United States to wealth, and distinction, and offices; whereas elsewhere the mechanic must always remain as he began.

The majority of tradesmen are still English, French, Irish, and Germans; and however sure the skilful mechanic may be of success, he must not rely upon receiving at first a friendly recep-

tion, or a very hearty welcome; the astonishing increase of population having nearly supplied the deficiency which once prevailed in this respect in the United States. Architects, surveyors, masons, and carpenters, are still welcome. Distillers, confectioners, cabinet-makers, and hatters, acquire an independence in a very few years, and an enterprising brewer, with a moderate capital of three thousand dollars, may depend upon being eventually successful, the more so, as the beverage called beer in the Union, is generally deleterious in the highest degree. Even tailors and shoemakers will frequently make a fortune; the former assume commonly the more genteel name of merchant-tailors. Most of these people, especially if English, become rich in a few years, change their trade and turn speculators, buying and selling parcels of lands and houses. On the other hand, there are in Europe certain trades which are either unknown or would be very unsuccessful in America.

It may be taken as a rule, that trades and handicrafts connected with the immediate wants, will meet in every part of the Union with encouragement and success; but artists who are subservient to the luxuries of life, are only in request

in the maritime cities, and even then but so far as they contribute to that species of refinement which corresponds with the genius of Anglo-American, or what is nearly the same—British luxury.

Chapter XVIII.

Conclusion.

Although there are in the United States no regular orders of society, yet as wealth is the standard by which the worth of every one is estimated, a higher respect is paid to those professions which are most likely to attain it. These are the lawyer and the merchant. There is not a country where the influence of the former is greater, for as he is the sole expounder of the law, he will be often found to wrest it to his own selfish purposes, there being no supreme power to control his expositions. In the east, the clergy, notwithstanding their being entirely dependant on the people, have much influence, which shews that wherever wealth is accumulated, the *esprit du corps* is invariably the same.

Though the United States exhibit a greater uniformity of manners than any other nation, yet there is still found a striking difference amongst them. In the eastern sea-ports you will find the manners of an European metropolis,

alloyed by the pride of wealth, which, as it is the only mark of distinction, is not calculated to encourage courteous and social habits. In the central parts, from the Alleghany Mountains down to Cincinnati, a truly republican character is more than anywhere conspicuous. It is liberal, unassuming, hospitable, and independent. Further on we find the half-cultivated indigence of a rising population.

The different States themselves, vary not less in their characteristic features; and a Yankee of Massachusets is in many respects as dissimilar to a Kentuckian, as the Irishman differs from a Scotch highlander. Situation, climate, and occupation, gradually lend a distinct feature to each separate State; contending interests also contribute to establish a character which differs more or less with that of its neighbour.

The ruling passion of the American is the love of money. Vain indeed would be the attempt to vindicate his character on this point; with him, worldly prosperity and merit are indissolubly connected. Something, however, may be conceded to this feeling, when it is considered as springing from the very nature of his public institutions; for in the absence of artificial distinc-

tions, wealth is the grand passport to public and private importance.

Though this cupidity is certainly too far extended, and a sordid love of money is everywhere prevalent, yet it is but fair to state, that there is not a people on earth, who, when in possession of wealth, make a more beneficial and liberal use of it. An American, it its true, will consult his own interest; he will not hesitate to sacrifice health and everything dear to him, and will even not be over-scrupulous in the selection of means to accomplish his purpose. But wealth obtained, he will not only contribute to the comfort of his family, but to that of the people in general; he will not only advance the improvement of his immediate locality, and encourage the institutions of his county or state, but with the same eagerness he will give his subscriptions to colleges and churches five hundred miles distant from his residence, and often in preference to those around him, if productive of more beneficial consequences. Thus, as we have stated, sprung up most of the literary institutions and churches in the north. There are a thousand examples of this liberality.

The liberality of the American, and, what is

still better, his sound sense, is nowhere more striking than in the cities, and the public and private buildings of the United States.

It is not the mere regularity, the rectangular main-streets, from sixty to one hundred and twenty feet wide, the straight lines of elegant brick buildings in the cities, of brick and frame houses in the towns and villages, which deserve admiration; it is the strict regard, which, even in the most remote villages of the Union, is generally paid to the public health and comfort. The site of the town is either near a river, or in some other advantageous position: even a village of one hundred houses has its market-place. The elegant, though mostly simple court-houses, the side-walks, and the general neatness which, notwithstanding a still visible insufficiency of means, is everywhere apparent, evince the soundest views, and the most correct judgment. It would be worse than narrowness of mind to expect from a country, only of a political existence of fifty years, the same splendour and comfort which the English capital and cities display, and which is the result of a liberal application of a wealth accumulated during centuries. In this respect, English cities only are superior

to the American. As you may discover the monarch in the splendid palaces of the Tuilleries, Versailles, the Louvre, and in the magnificent royal squares and gardens of Paris, so the smallest American village will serve to indicate that the sovereignty is in the people. The gorgeous and often whimsical palaces of royalty you would seek in vain in the United States; but even Paris suffers in comparison with the airy, light, comfortable, and elegant American cities. Of these, New York is the most splendid. The Broadway, commanding on the one side a perspective view of the State House, and the vast expanse of waters, with the various islands on the other, is unrivalled for beauty, perhaps, in the whole world. It is not yet so imposing as Regent Street, or Rue de la Paix, but it is certainly more elegant. Boston is the most solid, as it is the most literary and refined city of the Union; Philadelphia is the plainest and most aristocratic. Washington is laid out in the grandest style, though its completion will, perhaps, never be effected; but even Baltimore, Richmond, New Albany, New Orleans, Cincinnati, are handsome cities. In these, as everywhere else, the enterprising spirit of the people is immense.

On my first tour to the grandest sight in nature, the falls of Niagara, the road from Albany to the Cataract was nearly a wilderness. When I passed three years afterwards (1825), the whole line of the New York Canal teemed with an industrious population; one spot was especially remarkable. In the space of three years, from a native forest it became an elegant little town, inhabited by eighteen hundred people*. The energy of the American, in this respect, is truly astonishing; he will leave farm-house, home, friends, and everything, and seek a better abode. For this he will surmount every obstacle, face every danger, and no difficulty nor hardship deters him from attaining his ends. If he is not able to sell his property, he will let it lie waste, and eagerly repair to the better spot which promises more advantage and profit.

Notwithstanding his adventurous enterprise, there is an economical spirit visible throughout, of which experience only can form an adequate idea. The American, in all his undertakings, goes at once to the main point; he looks at the

* I have forgotten the name of this place. It may, however, easily be discovered, as even in America it has excited a lively and very general interest.

principal end, and endeavours to obtain it in the cheapest way. This prudent economy is not only the result of a popular government, where its functionaries are strictly responsible for the public expenditure, it is in a greater degree the consequence of their origin. They were (as every nation is in the beginning) poor, and even comparatively poorer than other nations. They brought with them when they emigrated to America, only the most necessary utensils of common life, and even of these an insufficient supply. Most of them had to wander into the interior of the trackless forests destitute of almost every requisite, and to live with their children without the most necessary articles of comfort. Thus they were accustomed to look at things which even much less enlightened nations cannot dispense with, as mere trifles, and that axiom of philosophy, "The fewer the wants the greater the independence," was the practical result.

The United States will never present the world with an Escurial, a Versailles, or a Winter Palace, but their improvements are of a more solid and of a more beneficial nature. On the Mississippi alone there are upwards of a hundred steamboats, more (with the exception of England)

than the whole continent of Europe can boast of. They have begun the great national road from Washington to New Orleans, a distance of more than thirteen hundred miles, and which, when continued to Mexico, will be nearly three thousand. The canals of the Susquehannah, of Ohio, Delaware, &c., are in progress. The Lehigh coal mines alone are a work which would be creditable to England. These, and other public improvements, are carried on here in a spirit of liberal economy (if I may so speak) truly praiseworthy. Instead of such immense fortresses as Ehrenbreitstein, Strasburgh, Cologne, Mentz, which consumed the income of a whole country for a series of years, there will be found the small forts in Louisiana, in the Delaware, in the Potomack, for scarcely one thousand, and some for not more than five hundred men. But these forts are laid out on a plan, which proves, that though the Americans have not been brought up under a Vaughan, or in the military school at Brienne, that they know how to build fortresses suited to their purpose.

This intelligence is still more strikingly displayed in the naval establishment of the Union, both mercantile and public. One must have

seen an American man-of-war, have seen the elegant compactness of these vessels, the extreme order and alertness of their seamen, to judge of them accurately.

Taken on the whole, the American national character is certainly aspiring, energetic, shrewd, and intelligent; but this character, though respectable, is not altogether amiable. It is neither that of the steady, noble, and generous English, nor has it the sincerity nor the intense feeling of the German, nor the lively, and even in its levity, the still amiable disposition of the French. It exhibits the unnatural picture of a cold philosophical youth, united with the worst vice of age—avarice. There is not a nation, which, abstracted from its political institutions, has less friends, or whose intrinsic powers and excellent qualities have been more slighted and ridiculed by English writers. There is but one voice respecting these insults from Boston down to New Orleans, from Washington to St. Louis, and it is that of bitter complaint. The fault is on both sides. It would be in vain to shelter the Americans from those faults and vices which we have already mentioned, and many of which we should not have expected from English descendants.

So it would be unreasonable to expect a very friendly disposition from two nations, the one of which is in possession of the commerce of the world, and of the dominion of the ocean, and the other which aspires to wrest this superiority from the grasp of Great Britain.

But it must not be disguised that those English writers of travels, who speak of the United States, were generally prejudiced, and always not qualified to form a correct opinion of this rising and powerful nation. These writings exhibit, if not a total want of information, such an absence of that philosophical research so necessary to give Englishmen a correct idea of their shrewd and intelligent rival, that it is not to be wondered at that so much error and prejudice exist. The result has been highly injurious to the cause of truth and to the interests of Great Britain. Her leading Journals, adopting these opinions, have contributed by their systematic attacks to elevate and strengthen the national character of the Americans, and to concentrate its energies against a country, whose most distinguished literary talents they see arrayed against their advancement. The national honour and the national feeling, which would for a while have slumbered, have awakened

to prove that such sarcasms are unmerited. He must personally have witnessed through a series of years, the exasperation, the rankling animosity, which these attacks, repeated in numberless newspapers, have spread through millions of freemen, to be a fair judge of their powerful operation on the American character. They see themselves slighted by the only nation for whom they have a real esteem. Though the resources of the United States are not to be placed in comparison with those of Great Britain, yet to exasperate the spirit of this infant giant, and to direct its accumulating energies against herself—and to do this merely for the occasion of indulging in a sneer—is neither generous, nor politic, nor just.

THE END.

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ERRATUM.

Page 85, line 23, *for* partiality, *read* neutrality.

TOUR

THROUGH PARTS OF

THE UNITED STATES

AND

CANADA.

BY A BRITISH SUBJECT.

LONDON:

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1828.

TOUR

THROUGH PARTS OF

THE UNITED STATES

AND

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PREFACE.

As the contents of the following Letters, relate to a portion of the world not very frequently visited by British Travellers, it has been thought that the novelty of the subject may perhaps compensate for the deficiencies of the style; and if my endeavours to do justice to the many estimable qualities of the American citizens, or the assertion that their prosperity is a source of just pride to the Mother Country, shall tend to strengthen those bonds of mutual good-will between the two Nations, which are rapidly succeeding the animosities of the revolutionary struggle; I shall consider my late excursion has been useful, as well as highly agreeable.

THE AUTHOR.

A TOUR

THROUGH

THE UNITED STATES.

LETTER I.

VOYAGE—ENTRANCE OF THE HUDSON—QUARANTINE REGULATIONS — CUSTOM-HOUSE ANNOYANCES — RESTRICTIONS ON ALIENS.

New York, April 20, 1827.

DEAR ———,

RAMBLING as have been my habits, I really felt at some loss, when selecting the American packet to convey me across the Atlantic. They are all in truth such fine vessels, varying in size from 350 to 500 tons, and with such excellent accommodations for eating and sleeping, that a less fastidious man than myself might well be puzzled: I fixed however finally on the port of Liverpool, in preference to those of Havre and Cowes; and we embarked—a motley crew of passengers.

Each dormitory arranged round the "salon

à manger" has two births in it! It is a kind of latticed box, with just sufficient room to stand and wash between the beds and the door; and I was especially careful to seize on the upper coffin for my resting-place, because, in case of sea-sickness, the cascade is sometimes impelled by the rolling of the ship over the face of the unlucky sleeper below.

At first, what a lovely deep blue the unfathomable waters of the great ocean assume; but very speedily the charming monotony of sea and air, and air and sea, begins to grow tedious. Eyes are strained round the horizon for a new object; and some even brave the dangers of fines and falls, by cautiously creeping up the shrouds and through lubber's-hole, to enjoy a better look-out. Shouts of "A sail—a sail," then cause even the miserable vomiters to rush on deck, with cries of "Where—where?" Alas! it is only a Portuguese man-of-war; a sort of small animated blubber, which raises or lowers at will its pale lilac-coloured bladder to the winds.

Four times a-day did the well-covered table of this packet groan under a variety of dishes, containing flesh, fowl, and pastry; and as often did the majority of those with weak stomachs quit their lairs for the feast. The sea air, they said, gave them an appetite; and well it might, for they had all the pleasure of mastication with-

out the trouble of digestion. How I pity Heliogabalus, for not having tried the pleasurable sensations of a sea voyage! If he could have seen the delight with which some of my companions gorged the good things, and quaffed the wines and other beverages they perhaps were not always in the habit of regaling on, he must have envied their capabilities, and lauded their ardour: yet strange as it may seem to you, I did not observe, at the end of the voyage, much difference in the bulk of my jovial acquaintances; their faces were plumper, and their swallows distended their cravats a little, which were all the ill effects, as far as they were concerned, of eating out the value of their thirty-five guineas' passage-money, in about as many days.

How many laughable accidents I could tell you, caused at our meals by a sudden lurch of the vessel! One good-tempered little man in particular, who was all back, except two little dangling apologies for legs, was always meeting with some mischance or another; not only more than his fair proportion of tureens of soup, sauces, puddings and joints of meat, were precipitated in his face and lap, but, as his feet could not reach the boards, he continually slipt from his seat under the table, disappearing in a manner at once the most extraordinary and ridiculous.

We at length adopted the plan, in rough

weather, of passing a handkerchief under his arms, and tying him to the back of the bench.

The New York packets have generally an experienced captain and mate, with a well-behaved crew of sixteen or twenty individuals; and I believe it is a well-known fact, that the discipline on board all the American vessels, whether for war or commerce, is carried to greater lengths than with us. But notwithstanding this, the Sundays are not marked either by prayers or the clean holiday dresses of the sailors; which, in both respects, must be considered a deviation from wholesome regulations.

I was told, on remarking the neglect, that the men, however submissive in respect to details of duty, would mutiny at such tyrannical orders as related to dress, or shaving, or praying; and I could only smile at the strange inconsistency of our nature.

Landsmen are astonished at seeing so few fish in so long a voyage; for, except a shoal of porpoises now and then, or the still scarcer dolphin sporting its vivid and ever-changing hues in the wake of the ship, the ocean appears void of other inhabitants than the myriads of sparkling animalcula, which, on a dark night, make the foam around resemble liquid fire.

The joyful tidings of land a-head were at last heard; and soon afterwards we regaled our

sight with looking on a low, sandy, and not very pleasing shore, having a light-house placed opposite to a dangerous hidden shoal that stretches to Long Island, and leaves the entrance to the harbour "pretty considerably" narrow.

Sailing now due north for a few miles, the prospect began to brighten. A small ridge has been burst asunder by the torrents of the river Hudson, forming what are called "The Narrows;" a passage about half a mile wide, and well furnished with formidable batteries on either side, besides the immense red brick fort of La Fayette, standing at some distance in the Channel.

It seems to me, that this approach to the city of New York is far more expensively fortified than necessity demanded: for if an enemy really determined to attack this emporium of American commerce, I presume a force would be landed at the back of Long Island, and marching across that short space, fall at once on the naval arsenal, and thence pass over to the town, or rattle the houses about the ears of the inhabitants.

Few views can be more cheerful and magnificent than the one which I enjoyed on passing the Narrows. It wanted nothing but a back-ground of mountains to make it unrivalled.

The morning was bright and lovely; the country on both shores highly cultivated, and though rarely exceeding a hundred feet in eleva-

tion, is broken by gentle undulations in a very pleasing manner. Neat and comfortable-looking houses, quite in the English style, are dotted about, amidst gardens and orchards, shady groves, fields, and hedge-rows. The same industry and national habits met my eye on every side; and I was forced to remark that most of the houses were built of planks nicely painted, and that the vast natural harbour formed by the expanded waters of the Hudson, was on a grander scale than usual in Britain, before I quite recollected I was a foreigner.

To the left, on Staten Island, is a rapidly increasing town, and several spacious public buildings for hospitals. This is the quarantine ground for the state of New York; and its regulations, as explained to me, were not only very inconsistent, but taught me the practical truth—that every species of government has its disadvantages.

Vessels arriving from South America, or those places where contagious fevers are prevalent, here come to anchor. The crew and passengers are visited by medical men of ability, and detained on board a certain number of days; but those who take oath of intending to pass into Pennsylvania or other states, are permitted to cross the island, and get on board any one of the steam-boats plying to Philadelphia or elsewhere.

It is evident, that the most malignant plague

might thus be disseminated throughout the Union; but on the other hand, said my friendly informer, "what right can the state of New York have to regulate by her laws the internal communications of the federation?"

At no other custom-house in the world does a stranger meet with so much civility and so many inconveniences as at that of New York. The officer who boards the vessel is neither drunken, insolent, nor taken from the lowest orders of society; but receiving from ten to twelve shillings a-day throughout the year, is respectable from his situation, and rigidly faithful to his government. Any attempt to bribe one of these individuals would be resented as an insult, and a personal quarrel would probably be the least evil attending it.

But commerce not being properly represented in Congress, and the duties at sea-ports being almost the only source of revenue to the federative government at Washington, several annoying, and the merchants declare, very inefficient, orders have been given,

The highly respectable firm to which I was recommended, kindly sent a gentleman with me, well acquainted with all the forms required; and I was handed about from desk No. 1, to that of 5, in the corner, thence to office 2, and thus under the scrutiny of seven or eight different

checks on each other's conduct. One begged me to write a list of my boxes and their contents; to another I paid some trifling fees; and to a third I made oath my list of baggage was correct: when this latter gentleman, in the politest manner possible, gave me leave, not to bring my boxes on shore, but to go and have them examined by the officer on board the vessel.

"But my oath, sir! is not that sufficient to save me further trouble?" said I, rather piqued at being, as I thought, treated like a smuggler. "Indeed," replied the civil man at the desk, "I really am sorry you should have so much trouble; but the oath is only taken as a matter of course, and because sometimes small dutiable articles are thus revealed which might otherwise escape the searchers."

Two of my trunks being filled with books and other articles liable to the customs, I was desired to value them as high as I possibly could; because, if the duty amounted to above fifty dollars, I should only have to pay a per centage on that sum; but if only to 49¾ dollars, then the whole would be demanded. My goods being rather expensive, I got off for 3½ dollars; but had I been less able to afford the money, I should by the present system, have been much more hardly dealt with.

This regulation in the land of the emigrant and the destitute, the home for the poor and the

persecuted of all other nations, struck me as very incongruous; but a citizen shortly after explained, "that the people of the United States were far too wise to be willing to make their country a general alms-house for Europe. A general work-house their philanthropy taught them to make it; but for those only who would work, not for the idlers or beggars who come to live comfortably on the industry of others."

"To prevent this," continued he, "each captain who brings emigrants is obliged to enter into securities with the authorities, that none shall be chargeable to the community for a certain length of time; and I suppose there being no drawback allowed on duties below fifty dollars, is a part of the same system." This is, in fact, an alien bill, under another name!

There are several good hotels at New York; but as I intended remaining some time, I was recommended to go to one of the numerous private boarding-houses: and I fortunately fixed on one in which a small, but agreeable party is resident; where I am now as much domesticated as the kindness of the elder ladies, and the good-humoured liveliness of their nieces, can make me. By no means a slight relief during the wet, cold, and changeable weather, of the present season on this side the Atlantic.

I remain, &c.

LETTER II.

NEW YORK—SHIP-BUILDING—INHABITANTS AND CUSTOMS—GOOD FEELING TOWARDS BRITAIN—DESCENDANTS OF DUTCH—IRISH RESIDENTS—PAPER MONEY.

New York, May 7, 1827.

DEAR ———,

NEW YORK was founded by the Dutch, very early in the seventeenth century, at the southern end of a long narrow island; the cows and other domestic animals having had the merit, as their historian Knickerbocker supposes, of laying out the streets and alleys. The truth is, that the old part of the town, like similar ones in Europe, is narrow, crooked, and inconvenient; but the larger and more modern portion is built with wide straight streets, good foot-pavements, and neat red brick houses, exactly in the English style. As the cities in America were originally constructed of wood, many houses of that material still remain; and occasion such constant accidents by fire, that scarcely a night passes without two or three. The engines are numerous, and well served, being turned out with alacrity as soon as the ringing of the church bells give an alarm;

and so accustomed are the inhabitants to the noise and bustle of conflagrations, that unless one happens in their immediate neighbourhood, they take no notice whatever of the occurrence.

This city does not contain many handsome buildings to attract the stranger, except the town-hall and the exchange—both built of stone; but there are two small museums, a neat arcade for shops, clean baths, several theatres, billiard tables, and the castle battery, which projects some distance into the bay, and being converted into a species of Vauxhall, affords a cool and delightful promenade on summer evenings.

Broadway would be considered a handsome street in any town, and there is a great deal of commercial activity and bustle in every direction; but the whole city is badly cleaned and lighted, without sewers, and destitute of any palatable water, not brought from the opposite village of Brooklyn.

The private equipages here are neither very numerous nor elegant; but the hackney coaches are good, and the number and convenience of the steam-boats seen plying about the river in every direction is truly astonishing; so that for a penny you can cross over to Jersey or Long Island almost at any moment.

The two branches of the Hudson which enclose New York form so extensive a bay, that during

very heavy gales from the north-west vessels have been frequently injured; to lessen which danger, and render the loading and unloading of cargoes more convenient, a vast number of jetties or small piers have been projected, fifty or a hundred yards into the water; forming a kind of dock between them for merchantmen, but open to the river. The Government naval yard is at Long Island, east of Brooklyn; and is considered the most complete establishment of the kind in the United States.

There is not much activity in that department at present; but vessels are generally framed from a beautiful model, and are much slighter than with us; being built rather for fast sailing and economy in materials, than for tonnage and durability. Their masts rake aft much more than ours, which may perhaps be one cause of their confessed superiority in sailing; though the following reason given me by a shipwright appears plausible: The British act of parliament orders, that the tonnage of merchantmen shall be registered by multiplying the length into the breadth, and that product into half the breadth for the depth; which induces the owner to build his ship as narrow, deep, and wall-sided, as he possibly can, making the stern nearly straight up and down, without that degree of projection necessary either for elegance or proportion. A large East

or West Indiaman, he told me, would thus gain 150 tons at least over the register; wherein consisted the true reason why they were in general such floating tubs, and made such long voyages.

Several naval officers here have good humouredly laughed at me, as an Englishman, because our Admiralty has appointed ten-gun brigs for the packet service, and employed the same description of vessels to cruize against the pirates and slave traders. For they affirm it to be a well-known fact, and a British commander corroborates their testimony from his own experience, that those brigs are the worst sailers and inconveniently arranged ships of war in our service; so that they never can, except by chance, make a capture or quick passage, besides being particularly uncomfortable.

New York contains, I should think, about 180,000 inhabitants, and both from its population and other advantages, is decidedly the most important city in the Union. Every man here is employed in some trade or other; and though they have universally discarded the word shop as ungenteel, and adopted the softened term of store, yet Buonaparte's taunt of being a nation of shopkeepers, would have been much more appropriately applied here than in Britain. Dinner parties are not very common, but small dances and evening societies are both frequent and agreeable.

Many of the ladies are lively, handsome, and well educated; cultivating music, French, Italian, and other accomplishments, with great success. Their complexions, features, and manners, are decidedly English; but they are fond of adopting the gaudiest French modes of dress, and do not, I think, show in general much taste in the blending of colours.

The men are by no means deficient in acquirements, but have often a rude dictatorial way of contradicting each other, and wearing their hats in all places and under all circumstances, which betokens ill manners instead of perfect equality: in fact, there is here, as elsewhere, a complete aristocracy; only the distinction is marked by superiority of wealth instead of birth; and those who hold situations in the militia or other departments are remarkably tenacious of their honorary titles.

The superiority affected by the descendants of the Dutch settlers is quite amusing; as I am told they rarely associate or intermarry with their neighbours and fellow-citizens, but represent their ancestors as having belonged to the first families in Holland, quite different from the needy or persecuted beings who usually become colonists. Their historian Knickerbocker, however, treats these worthies with something of disrespect; and tells us how they first intoxicated the Indians

with gin, then cheated them out of small portions of land, built forts, and by violence and bloodshed afterwards increased their territory.

There are very few peculiarities here in the dress of the male population; scarcely any are ragged, but many are shabby. Excessively long watch-chains and large seals are commonly sported; high hats, large at the top, and with little brim, are worn, and it is the custom to rub the beaver against the fur; so that one closely and neatly brushed, as with us, is a sure criterion of a foreigner. Persons in mourning wear voluminous folds of crape round the hat, with long flappers sticking out behind, like our undertakers; and in riding, the saddle is placed much more forward than with us, without any crupper: this may, perhaps, be owing to the horses being usually large in the barrel, as they are never stinted in regard to water; but it decidedly has an ungraceful appearance, and, I should think, must deprive the rider of much of his power over the animal.

The number of free blacks in this city is considerable; and on the 4th of next July, even those few negroes in the state who have not completed the age of twenty-five years, will be emancipated: they are generally employed as domestic servants; the want of which class in the community is severely felt by families. The lowest stations of the hard-

working classes are generally filled by Irishmen, who are as much vilified here, whether justly or not I cannot tell, as in England or Scotland. They are accused of lighting false fires on the coast to cause shipwrecks, and then of plundering the vessel, having first knocked the crew on the head with stockings filled with stones; and in short, if any peculiar atrocity is committed in the land, friend Pat is immediately suspected.

New York is well supplied with fuel, vegetables, fruit, meat, and poultry, from Long Island and Jersey; fish is abundant, and of various species; but I cannot think the large tasteless oysters here, are equal to those we get in England. Wild fowl is innumerable; wines, whisky, and spirits, the same as with us; and, in short, there is no want of good eating and drinking, but it does not seem to me at much more reasonable prices than with us.

As church and state do not go hand in hand here, there are no tithes, each sect supporting its own ministers and places of worship; but the distinction of pews is quite as rigidly enforced as with us, the doctrine of equality not extending to a communion of seats, or in truth to any of the other good things of this world.

I am much pleased at observing the kindly feelings towards the mother country, which are now very generally prevalent, and the liberal

sentiments of almost all I meet. It is plain they are no longer afraid of our attempting the hopeless task of reconquering them; and, therefore, refrain from implanting ridiculous prejudices and untruths in the minds of their children; and the last war, by showing clearly the value of the commercial intercourse between the two nations, the difficulty of their acquiring the Canadas, and our ability to harass their coasts, has likewise materially tended towards a perfect reconciliation.

That these republicans would exalt the British empire by undervaluing themselves, I conceive no man could either expect or wish: but I have met several highly respectable individuals, who declare the late hostilities to have been the work of a comparatively small faction, which thought England was too much hampered by the French under Napoleon to be able to attend to her American possessions, and therefore seized the opportunity of giving the sick lion a kick.

Mr. Clay, I believe, or one of the commissioners who made so favourable a treaty at Ghent, wrote a very energetic letter to his government, on the renewed vigour and overwhelming power of the British; and the great majority of the American citizens, thinking that the precise moment of the quarrel did them no credit, were highly gratified when the peace was proclaimed.

The letter alluded to, is now brought forward

in accusation of the writer, by his political opponents.

Some of my acquaintance here have taken much pains to describe to me the torpedos, and various infernal machines which were invented by the New Yorkers, for the annoyance of Sir T. Hardy, when he blockaded their port; and they all speak in high terms of the skill and honourable warfare of that distinguished officer, who, it appears, most effectually cut up their commerce. The like praise is not bestowed on another British admiral, whom they accuse of having allowed the women in a small town near the Chesapeake to be ill used by his crews; and they speak of our having burnt the records and historical documents at Washington as a very paltry and unworthy measure.

There are several very pleasing excursions within a short distance of this city, both in the well-cultivated and undulating district of Long Island, and in the state of Jersey, near the woody cliffs of Hoboken; seventeen miles from whence, close to the manufacturing town of Patterson, are the highly-beautiful Falls of the Passaic river; which many persons assure me, are the most picturesque ones in America; but I have not yet visited them.

At Hoboken, a number of gigs, horses, and neat light vehicles, called pleasure-waggons, are

always kept for hire, as the excursion to the Passaic is a favourite amusement with the citizens of New York: so is likewise a visit to the handsome town of Newhaven, about sixty miles east, and in the state of Connecticut, to which the steam-boats convey them in rather less than six hours.

There is one, and, I believe, several other packs of hounds kept in this vicinity, which, during the season, are hunted in the English style; but the severity of the winter naturally curtails the number of sporting days. The breed of horses in New Jersey is extremely good; and races are annually held in Long Island.

New York is governed by a mayor and corporation, as with us; and the regulations of police, parish-rates, fines, and punishments, appear to be of a similar nature to our own.

An European is struck with the almost total want of the precious metals which prevails, and the substitution of paper-money, for the value even of a dollar, or four shillings, throughout the United States. These notes are issued by private bankers, who obtain an act of incorporation without difficulty; for if one state legislature refuses to grant it, another is not so scrupulous. The country is inundated with banks, and some failures continually take place; but their very number is a protection to the public, as it is rare

for any one firm to have a large sum in circulation. During the last war with Britain, paper-money as low as one cent, about a halfpenny, was the medium instead of cash.

I shall not apologize for the length of my letters, because you provoked me to the task, and must suffer the penalty; and in regard to any errors in judgment I have committed, or may hereafter be led into, I can only promise not to mislead you wilfully. Two individuals rarely see objects through the same medium; therefore be not too harsh, should you find my accounts differ from those given by other writers.

Yours sincerely, &c.

LETTER III.

STEAM-BOATS—PUBLIC COACHES—PHILADELPHIA—BALTIMORE—HOTELS AND MODE OF LIVING—WASHINGTON CITY—SLAVES—THE CONSTITUTION.

Washington, May 18, 1827.

DEAR ———,

I QUITTED my friends at New York with the regret due to their constant kindness and attentions. The steam-boat I embarked in was really superb, both in size and fitting up; containing two elegant cabins, and a smaller one for the ladies; a bar supplied with fruit, wines, and all other etceteras; a hair-dresser's shop; and on the deck, plenty of chairs and benches, with a linen awning to keep off the sun.

The price was as reasonable as the accommodations were good; the conveyance of ninety-six miles, to Philadelphia, being about seventeen shillings; and the only trouble entailed on the traveller, was to keep a sharp look out after his portmanteau, the owners of the boat not being liable for losses.

About 150 passengers of every grade in so-

ciety hastened on board as the bell gave warning of six o'clock being about to strike; and the powerful engine was stopped every few miles on our progress, either to take in more individuals, or allow those already with us to land. There was no other distinction of persons or place than the single regulation, "No smoking aft the boiler," and that of very properly allowing the ladies to seat themselves at table, before the cabin doors were opened, and the breakfast bell rang its welcome summons. Welcome indeed it was; and the instantaneous rush was terrific! One of those cold north-westers, which cut to the very bone, had sharpened our appetites; and with a most determined regard to self, but without quarrelling with his neighbours, each person precipitated himself down the stairs to the spot where fish, flesh, fowls, eggs, butter, tea, and coffee were disappearing with a surprising velocity.

The great bay of the Hudson, westward of New York, is filled with strong stakes, driven into the mud by the fishermen, to secure their nets; and between these our enormous but easily managed steam-boat had to track her course. The legislature of New York has long declared them a nuisance and impediment to navigation; but the opposite state of New Jersey has taken them under her protection, as the law-

ful rights of free citizens. To obviate this difficulty, New York has laid claim to the whole river, as far as high-water mark, on the Jersey shore; the other resists, and the lawyers have kindly undertaken to defend the interests of all parties.

An American man-of-war was now lying at anchor in the centre of these important stakes, and at every change of the tide her huge sides swept away acres of the annoyance. It was quite amusing to listen to the remarks of my fellow-voyagers: "A glorious sweep, that last," said the New Yorkers: "A damnation tyrannical act," replied a Jerseyite; "I guess they lengthen the cable and shift their situation on purpose. I see no right the time-serving government at Washington has to order its ships into our waters, and I will move in the House that they be ordered out."

The shores on both sides, as we passed between Staten Island and Jersey, were dotted with farms and neat-looking houses: all were built of boards, painted white, with green window-shutters or Venetian blinds. Cultivation did not appear to extend far from the rivers, but was carried on exactly as in England, in fields and small divisions: the general appearance of the country was flat and woody, the hills, or rather undulations, low; but the spires of village

churches were seen peeping out in various directions; while the reflection, that each inmate of the pretty and comfortable houses around was proprietor of the land and orchard he cultivated, added much cheerfulness to the whole scene.

At the town of New Brunswick on the Raritan, ten stage-coaches were in readiness to convey those who chose to the Delaware. These vehicles are low, without springs, and open on every side, unless the leather curtains are let down; but the road was tolerable, and I did not get my bones quite so much dislocated as I anticipated. There were three seats inside, containing in all nine persons, besides one on the box with the coachman; and I assure you, the four strong handsome horses, with harness like our own, but without brass ornaments, were driven over the twenty-seven miles in three hours and a half. The drivers change with their horses, and never ask for fees!

We passed through several villages, one of which contained a college for the professional studies; and I remarked, that the farms were large, of a light soil, well cultivated, with each an extensive orchard of apple, pear, cherry, and peach trees, besides vast tracts of small timber, for the supply, I understood, of fuel to New York.

At the well-built and populous town of Trenton,

a steam-boat was waiting on the Delaware for our arrival. The river is there about as wide as the Thames at Kew, with five wooden arches across it, and the road suspended below by strong beams, so as to be quite level: it is, in fact, upheld in a manner just the reverse of our chain bridges in North Wales.

The banks of the Delaware are pleasing, and have many country-houses; among others, that of Joseph Buonaparte, once king of Spain, but now known only as a wealthy and amiable country gentleman, entirely occupied with his observatory and scientific pursuits. Further down, I saw Burlington, Bristol, several other villages, and a quicker succession of gentlemen's seats, which are built of dark-coloured stone in Pennsylvania, till at length, about sun-set, the large city of Philadelphia rose like an amphitheatre, thirty or forty feet higher than the sweeping bend of the fine river, which the wheels of our vessel were violently agitating.

We had run the forty miles from Trenton in three hours and a half, against both wind and tide.

Philadelphia is the most regular built town I ever saw: but as it is entirely of red brick, with houses all of the same size, only two stories above the ground floor, and has but one steeple to break the monotony of the scene; it is rather

remarkable for neatness and comfort, than the slightest pretensions to magnificence.

The streets are about as wide as Bond Street, quite straight, and a mile and a half long, well paved and clean, with a broad footway of bricks on each side, and in some places a few trees, which greatly enliven the view. The town-hall is a large heavy building, in which is a statue to Washington, and a museum, not so good, I think, as those of New York.

The theatre is small and neat, and in it I saw perform a Mr. Forrest, who is certainly a promising tragedian, but rather a ranter. Several of the private banks are built of stone in a very handsome style; but the Exchange and Custom-house are unworthy of so great a city.

In the centre of the town is Market Street, sufficiently wide to allow a long well-built covered shed to run down the middle, and spoil the best thoroughfare of the place: besides, the excessive length of the stalls must render the purchase of articles extremely tedious and inconvenient.

There are also two smaller markets; and it seems generally allowed, that no town in the Union is better supplied with the necessaries and comforts of life, or at a more reasonable rate, than Philadelphia. The society of well educated and agreeable families, is likewise on a

more extended scale in that city than any other of the Union; for though there are many whose esteem and intimacy you would wish to cultivate in other places, no spot in America can boast of so many citizens of easy fortune, free from the anxieties of speculations and disappointments: in short, more elegantly dressed pretty women, and gentlemenly young men, with neater turns out of horses and equipages are seen there than any where else in the Union; and Chesnut Street is more fashionable, taking the year round, than either the Broadway of New York or the Avenues of Washington.

The dock-yard is small, and at the southern extremity of the town. The Americans there build their vessels, under large wooden houses, and place salt between the ribs, as they declare, to prevent the dry-rot. Scarcely any thing is now going on; but a sixty-gun frigate and a large three decker are on the stocks nearly complete. That port is evidently sinking daily in commercial importance, which arises, perhaps, not only from the long and dangerous navigation of its river, and the proximity of New York, but from the minds of the population turning with more pleasure towards agriculture, coal-mines, and manufactures, than the dangers and discomforts of a seafaring life.

Will you think me blind to the resources and

genius of this thriving republic, when I assure you, that the more I converse and associate with its inhabitants, the more satisfied I am the navy is not a popular service. I have become acquainted with many well-informed officers in that department; and even they generally end their patriotic expressions of pride at the renown their maritime exertions have obtained, with "One more voyage, and then for a farm in the back countries."

Between you and I, my dear ——, who the devil would prefer the miseries and monotony of a sailor's life, unless forced to it by necessity, or called to defend the independence of his country?

What the Philadelphians justly pride themselves most upon, are the water-works for the supply of the city. These are situated on the river Schuylkill, where it runs almost parallel with the Delaware, and about three miles westward of it. By building a strong stone dam across the stream, power has been given to three large wheels, each of which throws up to reservoirs 100 feet above them, no less than 1000 gallons of clear and excellent water per minute: the basins are calculated to contain ten millions of gallons, and iron pipes convey this indispensable article to every house in the town.

The consumption is at present two millions of

gallons in the twenty-four hours; and each householder pays 1*l.* a year, or 1*l.* 12*s.* if private baths are to be supplied, without scarcely any restriction as to quantity.

The banks of the Schuylkill are broken and very pleasing, being studded with gentlemen's seats and pleasure gardens, some of which have large hot and green houses as with us: in fact, it is difficult to travel through the United States without being every moment reminded of England.

I "reckon" the population of the Pennsylvanian capital to be 150,000, of whom one-sixth part are said to be free negroes; and these gentry are becoming a cause of such great inquietude, even to their staunchest advocates, that a colony called "Liberia" has been formed expressly for them on the coast of Africa, and to which they are not always very willing to go, if reports are to be credited.

I cannot have a fitter opportunity than while writing about that most correct and orderly city, to clear up your favourite hypothesis, "that in a country where no man who will work can have the slightest fear of not providing enough for his children to eat, the morality of the youthful must be much more exemplary, as no prudential reasons will prevent early attachments and marriages." Depend on it, mankind are much the

same here as elsewhere; and not only are there very numerous individuals, possessing tender hearts and light purses, who endeavour to ascertain in Philadelphia whether others are equally susceptible with themselves, but many of them are even adorned in the becoming dresses of quakeresses.

The steam-boat which conveyed me to Newcastle had on board a company of Baltimore volunteers, who with their band, had been paying a few days' visit to their military friends of the sister state; and I must do them the justice to say, they were a well-dressed, good-looking, soldier-like set of young men, who seemed to take much pride in their appearance and conduct. I never remember to have witnessed half the hearty good-will displayed by the citizens of England towards soldiers that I observed on several occasions among these republicans: here the newspapers even are bold enough to praise a military mania, and very many private schools in different states have adopted an uniform.

The Delaware widened considerably as we descended; the banks were flat and well cultivated, with a dense woody background, of evidently a recent growth.

The sixteen miles across part of the states of Delaware and Maryland, were rendered an agreeable drive by the cultivation and different vil-

lages; but the soil was far from rich, and the country was quite level. At Frenchtown on the Chesapeake, we got on board a steam-boat, the cabins of which were fitted up with fifty or sixty clean and comfortable beds, but as our party was far more numerous, lots were drawn for the births, and those who got a blank went to sleep on the chairs and tables.

The hotels at Philadelphia were good; but that of Mr. Barnham, at Baltimore, is one of the most complete establishments I ever saw. It is built of stone, in the best part of the town, and close to the uncommonly elegant monument which commemorates a skirmish with the British in 1814: the bed-rooms are very numerous, sufficiently large and airy, while the convenience of having baths, and a hair-dresser, &c. in the house, with the moderate charge of 6*s*. daily, meals included, leaves nothing to be desired.

A man who makes a tour in this Republic must either conform to the customs of the natives, or be kept in continual irritation by useless complaints. The servants neither ask for, or often receive any remuneration, and of course, they take very little trouble in their attentions to travellers; but as an European can rarely shake off his old habits, and do without attendance, I always make an arrangement with the head waiter, and for a few shillings find my comfort

wonderfully increased. I then demand the hours of the house, and am carefully punctual at breakfast, dinner, and tea; because nothing can be had at other times, or in private apartments.

All the inmates eat at the table-d'hôtes, which are supplied with very great profusion; but as many from the neighbouring dwellings are in the habit of paying a weekly sum for the same privilege, not unfrequently above 200 persons sit down to the attack, and great activity of hands and teeth, as well as a quick eye to scan the contents of dishes, is indispensable.

The first time I was initiated into the approved manner of proceeding at one of those dinners, I scarcely got any thing to eat through my astonishment. A few minutes before two o'clock the outer rooms were crowded to excess; small parties were edging knowingly towards the forbidden door, through which, on the ringing of a bell, the whole mass of hungry beings poured tumultuously. In seven minutes and a half exactly, the dishes of fish, joints, poultry, and tarts were almost entirely cleared, goblets of brandy and water, "à la discrétion," had been swallowed, and two-thirds of the chairs were again vacant.

It is their anxiety to get back to their country-houses and business which alone induces this extraordinary haste; for I have seen less drunk-

enness and more abstemiousness in the United States of America, than in any other country I ever visited.

Baltimore is neither so large nor so populous as New York and Philadelphia; but I like its appearance better, as it is built on more uneven ground, and its streets are usually wide, clean, and straight, without being so undeviatingly regular as those of the latter-named town. The houses are of brick, but some much larger than the others, and many have a small garden, or a few trees before them, which always makes an agreeable contrast.

The Exchange is a handsome stone building; and there is a lofty column in honour of Washington, to the south of the town, from the summit of which the prospect is extensive. A theatre, a museum, a picture gallery, and a dock-yard, with several excellent springs of water, markets, and quays, are also found in the capital of Maryland; but it possesses that curse of the southern states, a slave population rapidly increasing, and daily becoming more formidable.

The very sight of slavery in the American republic is infinitely more revolting to the feelings of an Englishman than in the West India islands, and the reason is obvious enough: in the latter, the trees, the climate, the culture, every object in short which meets his eye is exotic, is strange,

and the negro slave strikes the mind as a novelty inseparable from the others: but in the United States, none of those differences are very decidedly marked, while the houses and manners of the people are so entirely English, that the sight of a gang of slaves had the same effect upon me, as if witnessed in the vicinity of London.

I do not doubt, as far as the mere animal is concerned, but that the slave is often much better off than the white labourer. He eats, drinks, sleeps, and has a large family around him, without fear of poverty; in sickness or health, in youth or age, he must be provided for and protected and clothed, at least, such is the present law in the British West Indies. But he is still the property of another, he can have no affections of the heart or feelings of the man at his own control: he can have no stimulus to exertion, except fear of punishment; no pride as a citizen or human being; but his whole enjoyment is in the present indulgence of his passions and vices.

The increase among the negroes is in a ratio out of all proportion to that of the whites of the warmer states, because their children are not so much affected by the heat and epidemics; and I am assured by various gentlemen, that the number of slaves throughout the Union at this moment amounts to nearly three millions. I

cannot credit the correctness of this information, and believe their fears magnify the object; for almost all eagerly discuss the prudence and necessity of getting rid of their slaves, provided themselves and families are not reduced to beggary by the means adopted, and that the "niggers," when emancipated, shall be removed to a distance.

The thirty-eight miles from Baltimore to Washington is over a deep sandy road, and through a remarkably poor tract of gently-rising hills, possessing very few cultivated spots amidst the wide forest of young oaks, but a large quantity of iron ore: and when population becomes sufficiently dense to oblige the farmer to improve the less productive soils, I should think the vicinity of many of the rivulets I passed, might be rendered valuable property.

After a most tedious drag of many hours, the coach came in sight of the wide Potomac, with its headlands and deep-shaded bays to our left; while in front was a large space of dreary clearing, without trees, without cultivation, and the habitations seemingly without order, and lost in the vastness of the melancholy circle.

On a small rising in the centre stands a very elegant stone building of imposing dimensions, with a fine façade of columns at its principal

entrance, but with a dome disproportionately large for the edifice, and doorways far too small: this is the Capitol. The interior is handsome and conveniently arranged: at the northern extremity is the senate hall, richly fitted up; while the southern is occupied by the hall of representatives, a semicircular apartment, supported by marble pillars. The public is freely admitted to the debates, except individuals tainted with dark faces.

The library occupies part of the west front, and not only commands a view down a long wide avenue of poplar trees, to the handsome stone residence of the president, but beyond, to the country-seats and park-like scenery in the vicinity of Georgetown. The inside of the dome is partly decorated with some large paintings, the execution of which struck me as unworthy both of the subjects and the situation.

Washington, as a city, cannot yet be said to exist! The intended plan on paper is truly magnificent; but very little has yet been done, and I much doubt whether it will ever be accomplished; as the country round is peculiarly poor, and the receding waters of the Potomac must prevent its dock-yard becoming a great naval station.

A foreigner who visits no other part of the Union than this metropolis of the Federation,

will quit the country with extremely erroneous ideas of the power and resources of the United States. The scale on which it was commenced was so grand, that what exists is paltry in the extreme, and alike undeserving of the efforts of so great a nation, and of the sacred name it bears

There is a district of ten or twelve square leagues attached to this city, under the immediate jurisdiction of the general government; but as the original great error was committed of not abolishing slavery here, the executive cannot interfere on that point with the new territories of the republic.

The proportion of blacks seen in these streets, now that the Congress is not sitting and few visitors are met with, is really quite astonishing; but I cannot agree with my American friends, that it is one of the curses entailed by "Mother Britain:" because, when they told "Mother Britain" to keep at home, and mind her own affairs, they could just as easily have got rid of all the evils attending her management, as of part of them.

The vast state of Virginia, which has hitherto been the most powerful and influential in the Anglo-American republic, is still governed by her original colonial charter, without any material modifications or alterations, as far as I can learn; and it must be a matter of regret, that the high-

minded and polished Virginian gentlemen are, as a body, fast losing their political importance.

Their country scarcely now stands fourth, in the returns to Congress! You know enough of the constitution of this nation, to make the following brief sketch quite sufficient for the purposes of a letter. There are at present twenty-four states or republics, perfectly independent of each other as far as regards their internal laws and government; but in order to tighten the bonds of amity, and for mutual protection, it has been agreed to nominate a general council and executive, at this city of Washington, to decide on peace and war, and legislate on the collective interests of the whole Union. Each 40,000 citizens not receiving parochial relief, or confined in prison, sends one member to this Congress, who is paid one or two guineas a-day during the time of meeting, according to the wealth and generosity of the state he is deputed from; therefore, in all calculations of comparative expense in governing, it should be remembered that the people of this country have to support twenty-five different establishments; the aggregate amount of which, although far less than our expenditure in Great Britain, presses perhaps equally heavy on the means of the community.

The territories not having a population of 40,000 citizens, are governed by the president and execu-

tive at Washington; to support whose dignity, and other contingencies, the customs of all the ports in the Union are placed at its disposal.

Party spirit is running high about the election of president the ensuing four years; and the innumerable newspapers of the Union bespatter the candidates, their partisans, and each other, with more abuse and acrimony than I ever noticed in England. Many of these journals are extremely well edited; and it is surprising, that almost every village should possess some few individuals capable of conducting one at all.

Speedy oblivion is the merited fate of a large proportion; more particularly when they indulge in such effusions, as calling Lord Cochrane the saviour—the Messiah of Greece; or declaring, that Mr. Jefferson was a greater man than Jesus Christ, &c. Statements which disgust a large proportion of this community, quite as much as they can you or myself; and yet my observations lead me to the conclusion, that deism is the only religion likely to become preponderating in this republic.

Having now visited four of the most populous and celebrated cities in the United States, I think myself able to assert, without leading you much into error, that rarely other than the second best European articles can be purchased in their shops;

but as the people know no comparison, they are themselves deceived as to the goodness.

All clothing is excessively expensive; and a coat of the finest and best materials is about double the price of a similar one in England: hats and boots are in the same proportion.

Before closing this letter, I must mention an anecdote repeated to me by a young Englishman of the very first connexions, and which does infinite honour to the American character. I think he told me it was at Barnham's table-d'hôte, in Baltimore, that one of our countrymen being most grossly and unprovokedly attacked about his government, his nation, his politics, &c.; and having in vain endeavoured to stop the torrent of abuse, appealed to the company at large as to the propriety of such usage towards an unoffending stranger; when many individuals seized the assailant, and kicked him out of the room into the street; declaring he had outraged the whole party by his disgraceful conduct.

Yours very sincerely, &c.

LETTER IV.

HUDSON RIVER—PASSENGERS IN STEAM-BOATS — ALBANY — COHOES FALLS — ERIE CANAL — MOHAWK RIVER — UTICA— ROADS—TRENTON FALLS—VALUE OF LAND—PRODUCE AND LABOUR.

Utica, May 27, 1827.

DEAR ———,

My desire of seeing as much of this interesting country as possible, caused my second visit to New York to be a very short one ; and embarking in a steam-boat as big as a frigate, but drawing only four feet water, we pushed up the Hudson at the rate of eleven knots the hour. As nobody thinks of going the 150 miles to Albany by any other mode of conveyance, upwards of 200 passengers were on board; the total demand for each, including breakfast, dinner, and supper, being only sixteen shillings ; and for what I know, the two or three other daily boats up the river were equally cheap and well attended.

The Hudson is a noble river ; something less than a mile wide, where the curious natural barrier called the "Palisades," composed of a sort of hard columnar rock, fifty or sixty feet high,

forms its western bank for seven or eight leagues; and then expanding its surface to what the old Dutch settlers used to call a sea. But its shores are never swampy; and are adorned with a continual succession of villages, farm-houses, citizens' seats, cultivation, and orchards.

A ridge of rocky hills, 700 or 800 feet high, contracts its waters considerably, at a distance of forty miles from the city; and its windings through that long devious defile, where some precipices are perpendicular, others steep and stony, and all partially covered with stunted trees, is really beautiful. It is called "the Highlands;" and the scenery is much improved by a few rocky islets; on one of which formerly stood a fort, but at present a light-house.

About the centre of the pass, on a level promontory which juts out in a remarkable manner, is the military college of the United States. It is named West Point, and has several stone buildings more than one hundred feet above the river, over whose course it has a commanding view, both up and down the stream.

This establishment is for 260 students, subjected to a severe discipline; and is well kept up, so as to ensure good officers for the engineers and artillery. The stone ruins of Fort Putnam are above the college, having rather a picturesque appearance; and neat monuments have been

raised to the memory of Kociusko and others; while the surrounding country is peculiarly interesting, from recollections of the war of independence and the lamented fate of Major André.

Newburg is a flourishing town of 2500 inhabitants, on the west bank of the river; and the boat passed many villages before reaching the city of Hudson, which probably has nearly double that number. This place was founded by the Dutch, and does great credit to their taste; for exactly opposite, ten or twelve miles more to the westward, rise the finely-marked and woody Catskill mountains.

Persons in the steam-boat differed much as to the height of those mountains; but I doubt any point of their outline being more than 2500 feet above the water; for the rare appearance of elevated peaks in the vast countries of North America, is apt, I think, to make the traveller magnify those he does meet with.

On one of the summits of the Catskill is a large summer hotel, called the Pine Orchard; and I understood some of the scenery around it was highly romantic and worthy of a visit.

The freedom of intercourse and equality of privileges, studiously affected in all public conveyances and hotels of the Union, often gives a man an opportunity of mixing with a class of society he never had associated with in Europe;

and on these occasions I have scarcely ever remarked any gross vulgarity, or any rude attacks on me as a foreigner. Those disagreeable deviations from good breeding, such as cutting the butter, cheese, potatoes, or tarts with their own knives, I endeavoured to rectify, by helping myself from a part not already invaded; and without agreeing exactly with our Irish friend ——, that "the only pure English is spoken in Dublin," it cannot escape observation, how entirely free the lower orders of Americans are from the provincialisms of what they kindly term "The Old Country."

The peculiarities of *guess, reckon, calculate, pretty considerable, privileges of water, considerable dry,* and often dropping the monosyllables, sound rather odd to me in conversation, but have nothing offensive; and the same may be said of *engīne, genūine,* and similar words, which we in Britain pronounce short.

There is one practice, however, besides cigar-smoking, so general, even among the better classes of these republicans, that I may almost term it universal; and which, in my opinion, is particularly disgusting and ungentlemanly—it is chewing tobacco!

Picture to yourself—what I have often witnessed—well-educated and well-dressed young men of fortune, when endeavouring to render

themselves agreeable to ladies, who would shine in any society by their vivacity and personal attractions, have been obliged to shift their quids from cheek to cheek, as suited their articulation or convenience; have turned their heads continually in order to squirt out a quantity of dark-coloured saliva; and with an open penknife in their hand, have alternately picked their teeth and their nails.

The flounces and dresses of females are continually being soiled by the spittle, which is lying about in every direction; and what is singular enough, I have seen most respectable men actually turn from the side of the vessel over which they were leaning, purposely to spit on the boards; fearful, I suppose, that they might not otherwise have been known to be adepts in so elegant an accomplishment.

Albany is situated on the steep slope of a small hill, with some wide and good streets, not remarkable however for their cleanliness; but which contain many handsome buildings of brick, and a few of stone. The Hudson is there about one-third of a mile across, with a tide of nearly three feet; yet the channel is so continually getting choked up, as to prevent, in the dry season, the larger steam-boats from coming within four miles of the city; and a short canal is seriously talked of to obviate the difficulty.

Large docks and wharfs, in the true Dutch taste, are formed in the bed of the river; and several low islands of pasture and trees, divide the stream in the vicinity. This town is the seat of government for the state of New York, and contains about 18,000 people, whose wealth and numbers increase yearly; but it was the first spot in the republic where I had met with beggars; and I am sorry to acknowledge they were Irish. It is a remark made in every society, and every village of this immense country, that the Scotch, English, Germans, and Dutch, all get on and thrive; but the Irish labourer very rarely attains independence, changing only the nature of his toil, from the hackney coachman to the porter, the pavior, or the hired drudge.

The hotels in Albany are equally comfortable with the others I had met with; and, as usual, I found the inmates divided into political parties and factions. For the mass of the people here are more addicted to such discussions and disputes, than even my good countrymen at home. Some declared vehemently that the legislature was both formed and ruled by the back-settlers, while trade and manufactures were without representation or protection; others asserted that agriculture alone ought to be favoured, and the import duties on goods should be reduced one-half: but every body joined in the most furious

abuse of a clergyman at Boston, who had recently dared, they said, contrary to the ordinances of God and man, to marry a white girl to a free negro.

Excellent horses and gigs can be hired at Albany, and I drove in one of them over a very bad road, to see the Cohoes Falls on the Mohawk. A little to the north of the town, I passed the good brick mansion of the "Patroon," or head of the Rensselaer family, one of the largest and richest landowners in America; and close to it the Erie Canal falls into the Hudson.

This noble work is 360 miles in length; and by the means of eighty well-constructed stone locks, is raised 662 feet to the height of Lake Erie. It is forty feet wide at the surface, four feet deep; and barges of 150 tons with flour, salt, and the other productions of the western countries, besides covered tow-boats, are constantly passing it. This canal, together with the northern one for Lake Champlain, cost rather less than £2,000,000; a sum which the tolls will very speedily repay. But it is impossible not to admire the energy and public spirit of the state of New York, which commenced and finished so vast an undertaking, although refused assistance by the Congress at Washington.

At the village of Gibbonsville is a national depôt of arms and stores for the northern and eastern section of the Union; which, by its neat-

ness and good arrangement, does great credit to the government. On the opposite side of the river is Troy; one of the best built and most thriving towns in the country, with a population of 8000.

Steam ferry-boats ply across continually; and immediately behind that place are green pasture hills, some hundreds of feet high, besides the deep woody glen and cascade of Ida. To other spots in the vicinity such classical names as Olympus, &c. are given; which appears to me rather pedantic, where there is not the slightest resemblance to Asiatic climate, customs, buildings, or people.

The river Mohawk, is from 250 to 300 yards across, just above its junction with the Hudson; and after rushing down a short declivity, precipitates itself over a ledge of black slate rock, seventy-six feet high. In one spot a large mass projects some feet down the stream; and over this the water trickled in ten thousand silvery veins, while the beams of the sun formed a beautiful rainbow on the white foam.

The best situation for viewing the scene, is from among a few trees on the southern cliff; and as I had never before witnessed so vast a fall of water, I was undoubtedly struck with mingled sensations of pleasure and awe; but I know many Lilliputian cascades in England and

Wales, whose accompaniments of wood and rock make them infinitely more picturesque than the mighty torrent of the Cohoes.

The road from Troy to Schenectady (fourteen miles) I found almost impassable, and very little of the woods cleared for cultivation; but the environs of the latter town, which, not many years back, was one of the outposts of civilization, afforded a charming landscape of richness and industry. The place itself has wide straight streets, with numerous shops, inns, a college, and about 5000 people; who complained most bitterly that the Erie Canal had destroyed their carrying trade to Albany.

A tow-boat, neatly fitted up with a library, beds, &c. conveyed me the eighty miles to Utica; the charge, including three good meals, being only fourteen shillings; and the sole inconvenience that of stooping to avoid the low bridges when I walked the deck, or rather roof; as they cross the canal much more frequently than there is the least necessity for. Three days before my arrival, an unlucky French passenger hearing the usual cry of "Look out, look out," thrust his head out of the nearest window to see the fun, and very narrowly escaped with his life, getting a most violent blow from the buttress.

The Erie Canal winds up the valley of the Mohawk, a little above the river; and nothing can be more pleasing than the views on every

side: small hills of wood and cultivation; villages rising into size and regularity, as if by magic; a healthy and numerous population, ready to answer questions with civility, and guessing that I came from the "Old Country far away," reckoned I might perhaps know such and such places in England.

The houses are all of painted planks, perfectly clean, and amply furnished with tables, chairs, bedsteads and bedding, curtains, crockery-ware, and kitchen utensils; while an abundance of bread, meat, fowls, tea, coffee, eggs, butter, cheese, beer, cider, and spirituous liquors, can be purchased without difficulty.

After traversing fifty miles the scene changed; a mere rocky gorge, scarcely allowing room for the river, canal, and public road, wound between woody precipices of granite, 600 or 700 feet high; and there the Mohawk rushed down a continuation of rapids, its white foam beautifully contrasted with the foliage and trunks of trees. It is named "The Little Falls;" and the cheerful village above has several hotels for summer visitors, with a stone aqueduct for a branch cut to the canal. A thick and high wall rising from the very bed of the river, supports at this place the canal itself; but it soon after enters on the rich tract called the "German Flats," which is evidently an alluvial formation.

Utica is a new and handsome town, of 7000

inhabitants, with wide paved streets, lamps, and footways; houses of brick, sometimes faced with stone, libraries, print shops, lottery offices, capital inns, and shops, displaying to the best advantage, and with much taste, every species of merchandise. I have seen many well-dressed women here, purchasing or turning over the different muslins and trinkets, with as much satisfaction as those in England; and apparently quite as contented to walk with parasols for the purpose of shopping, as our fair countrywomen are to drive in their carriages.

The great vale in which Utica stands, is rich in pasture, arable, and woodland; is adapted to every species of husbandry; has already much productive cultivation, and great numbers of sheep and cattle. It is also nearly in the centre of the state of New York; therefore I have taken a good deal of pains to ascertain the general prices of the vicinity, and believe the following information is tolerably correct.

An acre of land under cultivation, is from £3 to £10, according to its situation relative to the town; a good gig or saddle horse, from £16 to £20; a light waggon used as our taxed carts, £7 or £8; a cow in milk, £5; a bushel of wheat, 3*s.* 3*d.*; of Indian corn, 2*s.*; of oats, 1*s.* 6*d.*; of best potatoes, 1*s.* 3*d.*; of apples, from 2*s.* to 4*s.*; a cord of fire-wood, 8*s.* to 10*s.*;

beef 4½*d.* the pound; mutton, 3*d.*; a turkey, or two fowls, from 9*d.* to 1*s.*

A good carpenter or blacksmith will gain from four to five shillings daily; a mason, from five to six shillings; an ostler, gardener, or labourer, from two to three shillings, besides their food. All articles of dress and clothing are very dear; as they chiefly come from Europe, and pay a heavy import duty.

Yesterday I wished to go about fourteen miles to the north, in order to see the Falls at Trenton; and was recommended to hire a light one-horse waggon without springs, instead of a gig. Lucky it was I did so; for in my life I never met with such a road and such ruts; but as the wetness of the spring had prevented the possibility of mending it, the turnpike was thrown open and no toll demanded.

They make use here of the droll phrase "fixing the roads;" which means, that when the frozen snow has passed away and the fine weather regularly set in, the dirt is scraped into the ruts, the holes are filled up, and the whole, when rolled, becomes smooth and firm until the rains recommence. Should a coach or waggon attempt to use these roads too soon after the melting of the snow, they sink to the axle; flounder from bad to worse, and are only prevented from oversetting by cords fastened at

the top, and pulled on each side, according to circumstances.

I have myself seen a turnpike road near this place actually ploughed and rolled; that being considered the easiest way to "fix" it; and it really is at this moment as hard and excellent as could be wished.

On this excursion, when I had at last dragged through the meadows and jolted up a long hill, I enjoyed a delightful view over an extensive and diversified country, without however any elevation in the wide expanse which approached the proportions of a mountain; and my impression decidedly was, that about an eighth of this district is cleared and under tillage. Each succeeding winter, thousands of acres are denuded of timber; the stumps standing several years above the ground till they dry, get burnt, rot, and are grubbed up; while in the mean time the farmer ploughs the soil between the roots, and gets a much better crop than under such circumstances I had thought possible.

The prospect reminded me of some of the more level and woody parts of Hertfordshire; and when talking with those I overtook or met, I was obliged to look at the stumps of trees among the young wheat, the great proportion of dark firs, mingled with the beech, birch, and sugar maple, or the zig-zag fences of split

trunks, before I could believe myself 300 miles in the interior of America.

These Virginian fences, as they are called, have a strange appearance to an Englishman, being large trees split into four or five pieces of perhaps thirty feet long, and then piled upon each other at a sufficient angle, to make the upright forks almost needless. I have seen twelve, even fourteen, of these rude beams one above another; a sure sign that wood is of no value, and that a little ground more or less is of no manner of consequence.

There are several commodious taverns along the road, and civilization is making giant strides in every direction of what was very recently a wilderness. Trenton is in a rich meadow, watered by a rivulet, and is a larger village than usually met with so far from the canal and more frequented routes, but the Falls are still two miles and a half farther in the woods, where, to my utter astonishment, I found an hotel containing every comfort and luxury that may attract the summer tourists.

A deep and narrow ravine of dark lime rock, the precipitous sides of which looked almost as if regularly built of rounded stones, while the tops and fissures were thickly overgrown with cedar, fir, and various shrubs, contains four different falls, all very pleasing, but two more

particularly so from their height and sheet of water. A hut for refreshments has been erected on a crag above the principal cascade, the stream of which may be fifty yards wide, and pours down with great violence a large body of water. The height is probably thirty feet, partly unbroken and partly discovering the rock; the torrent then rushes over several smooth slabs, which strongly resemble artificial steps, and again falls thirty or forty feet, forming one succession of rapids and whirlpools to the next leap.

The whole scene is highly picturesque, infinitely more so than the Cohoes, but it still wants those accompaniments of vast masses of misshapen rock, and aged oaks stretching their mouldering trunks or boughs across the chasm, which so commonly gratify the eye among the rivulets in the west of England.

The limestone at Trenton contains many varieties of shells and animals, of which the proprietor of the hotel has obtained a considerable collection; and I could not help reflecting while rambling far from the house amidst glens and woods so silent and so deserted, that less than thirty years ago my reveries would have probably been broken by the yell, the tomahawk, and the scalping knife.

I have certainly seen pigeons in tolerable

numbers in Cambridgeshire and other places, but I never fully understood the import of a "flight of pigeons" till I came into the vicinity of Utica: they absolutely darkened the heavens, stretching for miles in one vast phalanx, till the eye could trace them no longer: men, women, and children turned out with guns, nets, sticks, and even stones. The multitude slaughtered was immense, and yet such were their numbers, that no diminution apparently took place. The flesh is good eating, and the whole time of their remaining in a neighbourhood is a jubilee for the inhabitants.

Yours very truly.

LETTER V.

INDIANS—MEALS WHEN TRAVELLING—DISCIPLINE OF JAILS—LAKES—FREEMASONS—ROCHESTER—DWELLINGS—LAW OF INHERITANCE—FALLS OF THE GENESEE RIVER.

Rochester, June 1, 1827.

DEAR ———,

HERE am I sitting in one of half a dozen excellent hotels, with iced lemonade, as well as the whitest spermaceti candles before me, and in a town of 9000 inhabitants, a Birmingham in miniature, where seventeen years ago not one single tree had been felled by the axe.

But I have hitherto given you a connected account of my movements in America, and will therefore return to Utica, from whence my last letter was dated. The Erie Canal there takes a long bend to the northward, through aguish swamps, which the increasing navigation is but just occasioning to be cleared and settled; so I determined to avail myself of the stage coach, which speedily conveyed me past the flourishing villages of Hartford, Whitehouses, Westmoreland, and the large college of Hamilton, situated on a fine rising ground. I must here mention, that

I have scarcely ever found an assemblage of a few houses in this state, without either a national school or some establishment for education; and the meeting of an inhabitant who does not understand reading, writing, and arithmetic, is a very rare occurrence indeed.

On this route I first saw cultivated hops in America, and remarked in numerous directions small rivulets, which afforded great facility for water power; an advantage this industrious people have eagerly turned to account in saw-mills, corn-mills, factories of cotton, woollen, paper, and oil. Vernon is perhaps the most eligible site in all that neighbourhood, is well built and rapidly increasing, but westward of it, the wilderness almost touches the road; cultivation is scanty and badly conducted, and the aspect of every thing is changed for the worse.

This, I was told, was owing to our being within a "reservation," or tract of land still occupied by the Indians, and we soon arrived at the poor-looking village of Oneida Castle. Near this spot was the great council grove of the tribe, and some few hundred families still fondly cling to the soil, but deprived of fishing, by the dams for machinery on the streams, and of hunting by the absolute scarcity of game; they cut a most miserable appearance indeed: they are naturally idle and lazy, hating agriculture, as is

clearly evinced by the state of their fences and farms, and pick up a scanty subsistence by making mats, baskets, moccaseens, or other trifles.

There is a church built for them at Oneida, and a missionary appointed to preach in it on Sundays, for they in general call themselves Christians; and I understood, they not only conduct themselves with great propriety during divine service, but to induce them to learn English, one is always appointed to retranslate the clergyman's Indian discourse, paragraph by paragraph, for the benefit of the white settlers who attend.

I had no opportunity of ascertaining the above fact, or whether they really do sing the hymns in a peculiarly impressive and pleasing manner; but every person I conversed with about this remnant of the once powerful tribes of the Iroquois, or Five Nations, assured me of their unalterable honesty; a stick placed across the door of a hut renders its contents sacred to them for months: I also heard they were quiet and peaceable when not intoxicated; dreadfully afraid of a white man, who with a switch could drive away a group of them at any time, and that the women always refused any assistance during the pains of labour, retiring to the woods in summer and to a solitary hut in bad weather.

The state legislature has purchased up by far the larger portion of the different reserved lands, and now acts on a system of justice as well as prudent humanity. The interest of the price agreed on is paid annually to the Indian proprietors, who whenever they acquiesce in the measure, are also removed to new settlements on the shores of Green Bay and Lake Superior.

Those I saw were of a dark copper colour, often strong and tall, but in dirty ragged dresses, half European, half Indian. Some of the young women were decidedly pretty; generally a blanket was wrapped round them, and a few had large ornaments, apparently of silver.

Their infants were tightly bound in wrappers to a board, so as to have no possibility of moving, and then slung to their backs.

The attempts to civilize Indians and turn them to agriculture appear to me, as far as I have yet had an opportunity of observing or inquiring into, a complete failure; for in resigning the better qualities of the savage, they have only adopted the most vicious propensities of their conquerors. They wander about a listless and despised race, reside in wretched log huts, and in dress and filth are like the worst description of gipsies or tinkers: and really when individuals assert that Europe only shews the re-

mains of better days, while here all is cheering improvement, they should pause, and remember the living ruins which America exhibits. Both hemispheres have much to boast of, and no doubt also much deserving of animadversion.

The Oneida Reservation is a fine tract of land; a continued succession of hills and valleys, from one of the highest of which, I looked back over the level country to where the granite ridge crosses the Mohawk at Little Falls. It is a vast natural basin, and the conclusion seems rational of its having been another of those immense fresh-water lakes still so common on this continent.

When the river Mohawk burst its rocky barrier, the soil became gradually drained and covered with forest, while the waters receded to the present Lake Oneida, which is about forty miles long and eight or ten across. I am told here that such will probably be the case with Lake Erie some centuries hence, as the Falls of Niagara are gradually wearing away the lime-rock which obstructs their mighty torrent, and the surface of Ontario is below any part of the bed of its sister lake, which has been fathomed.

Near the beautifully-situated village of Chittenningo are the remnants of a large petrified pine-tree, some specimens of which, with shells embedded in the wood, I obtained for your col-

lection. At the large and regularly-built village of Maulius, the coach stopped for dinner; and having now advanced so far into the interior, the following bills of fare may be taken as a fair specimen of the accommodations and style of living in this state.

We had already made a hearty breakfast on veal cutlets, beef steaks, toasted ham, fish, both broiled and pickled, roasted potatoes, eggs by the dozen, tea, coffee, toast, rolls, excellent bread, with butter and cream that would have done credit to a Devonshire larder, and all was served round by the landlord's daughters in blue and white china; while a clean linen table-cloth, good knives, forks, spoons, cut-glass tumblers and castors, pickles, and the purest of salt, decorated the table. Our dinner consisted of joints of beef, mutton, and pork, pigeon and veal pies, asparagus, with other vegetables and salad, tarts, apple and peach sweetmeats; while decanters of brandy and Hollands, with crystal water in jugs, served to slake the thirst. The cider is sometimes very good, but it is most frequently spoilt, for want of attention in picking out decayed apples from the press.

Alas! there were no French dishes; no nice little "portions," exactly measured out for one; every thing was agreeable to the homely English phrase of cut and come again, and no reasonable

man could grumble at what was set before him. The charges are usually eighteen-pence or two shillings; but those who wait neither expect nor ask for any remuneration. Tea or supper is much the same as the breakfast, with the addition of plenty of cakes and a sort of apple marmalade.

The next village we came to was called Onondaga, near which is another small settlement of Indians, and what is much more interesting, several earthen entrenchments with ditches have been discovered, similar, it is said, to others that exist throughout the line of country which extends from the lakes along the banks of the Mississippi to New Orleans. This has opened a fine field for conjecture, because the Indians are said to have no traditions whatever about them, and they were evidently constructed by a people accustomed to a different sort of warfare.

In the swampy ground a few miles to the northward and close to the Erie Canal, are the towns of Syracuse and Salina, with the fine salt-springs which supply their evaporation works: the situation is considered peculiarly aguish and unhealthy, but is found to improve as the country is cleared of wood. The road from thence continued over a succession of small hills and valleys, varying much in the nature of the soil; but cultivation is gradually advancing

into the fine forest which in that part of the state covers five-sixths of the land.

The well-built village of Skeneateless is most beautifully situated on a bank above a lake of the same name, commanding a sheet of water fifteen miles long, and varying much in width: it is a lovely prospect; the banks sloping gently, and broken into numerous bays and woody headlands, with cleared spaces for farms in various directions. Eight miles on this side of it, is the large town of Auburn, with the usual wide regular streets and foot pavements, and excellent houses and inns; but for some unaccountable reason, its site has been chosen so as not to enjoy a view of the neighbouring Lake Owasco. The coach stopped there for the night, having been sixteen hours in traversing the seventy-six miles from Utica; not that we had travelled slow, considering the indifferent state of some portions of the road, but unfortunately we carried the mail, and were detained a tedious time at each village post-office: for instead of having a small bag for each, which might be left without trouble, all the letters are thrown indiscriminately into one large sack, and the passengers are detained while the whole are looked over again and again.

The law, I was told, only allowed each postmaster five minutes to sort his letters; but it

might just as well be silent on the subject, as from a quarter to half an hour is always thus occupied and lost.

You are aware, that the different states of the Union are subdivided, like England, into counties, parishes, &c. Auburn is the chief town of Cayuga county, and not only contains the usual court-houses and gaols of its own jurisdiction, but also the state prison for the western section of New York, calculated to hold eleven hundred convicts.

This establishment is extremely well conducted. Solitary confinement in cells seven feet by three and a half, and seven feet high, together with hard labour at various cheap and easily-learned trades, is the system adopted: the head gaoler has also discretionary power to inflict whippings on the refractory, and to put any prisoner who obstinately refuses to work into a sort of cistern with a pump in it, where the water gradually mounts, so that if the man will not employ himself to throw it out he must drown.

I asked if any convict ever had perished in this novel kind of bath, and was told it was not likely to happen; as in the few cases when the water had been allowed to reach the neck, the prisoner had begun plying the pump-handle most furiously, roaring out for assistance in a terror that effectually precluded the necessity

of his undergoing the experiment a second time.

The daily labour of a convict is never found to equal in results that of a free man, but the produce goes to the state towards defraying the expenses; and it is said, that not only the general conduct of the prisoners is good, but many become permanently reformed. For my part, I think the Americans show great good sense in making their prisons places of deprivation, hard work, and punishment; instead of following our plan in England of rendering them most comfortable and eligible houses of entertainment during the winter season.

Westward of Auburn, I found the country more cleared and evidently longer settled than within the Oneida Reservation; the stumps of trees were more generally grubbed up, and the orchards better stocked with peach, apple, plum, and pear trees, than any I had before seen. It seems to have been a rule with the settlers, to plant their first two or three cleared acres with fruit trees, sowing their wheat or other crops between the rows, as is practised in Herefordshire and Worcestershire, and nothing could give a more cheerful aspect to their white houses. Flower gardens with roses, woodbines, and other creepers, so continually seen about English cottages, have not yet been introduced

here, and possibly the winters are too cold for such plants.

The road passes Lake Cayuga on a low wooden bridge or causeway one mile and a quarter long, which is often damaged by the floating ice. This magnificent piece of water is forty miles in length, the shores low, but pleasingly indented; and not only are a good many sloops employed carrying timber, flour, &c. from the different villages, but a steam-boat plies backwards and forwards from the bridge to the town of Ithaca. This last-named place is situated at the upper end of the lake, and from it they propose to cut a canal to the Susquehanna river, a distance of only thirty-one miles; when it will become of great importance, as commanding a water communication between lakes Erie, Ontario, and the Chesapeake. Not far from the town of Ithaca is a fine waterfall, well worth an excursion in the steam-boat to be visited.

The country between the lakes Cayuga and Seneca is agreeably hilly, and the road runs not far from the navigable river which unites their waters. The village of Waterloo is larger and handsomer than usual, but is far eclipsed by the town of Geneva, which rises like an amphitheatre above the expanded basin of the Seneca, whose limits extend thirty-five miles, by three or four wide.

Geneva is two hundred miles west of Albany, and has a road through Ithaca direct to New York. Its population is between 3000 and 4000, many of whom are in tolerable affluence, and keep pleasure-boats on the lake. The streets are well built of brick houses, as is also a large square; and the college forms a conspicuous object on approaching from the eastward.

The next place we arrived at, after a delightful drive of sixteen miles, was Canandaigua; which stands on a hill about a mile from the lake, and contains many really elegant-looking houses, each being surrounded by a garden; one of which, belonging to a Scotch gentleman, was better laid out and possessed more varieties of flowers than I had previously seen in America.

It is the county town of Ontario; and the whole republic is in a ferment about the disappearance of a man named Morgan who was confined in its gaol. The popular outcry is, that he has been murdered by the freemasons for betraying their secrets: and so strange is the infatuation, that it is insisted he was drowned at the junction of the Niagara river and Lake Ontario, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, when the deep lake close at hand would have answered the purpose so much better.

Several respectable individuals have been arrested on suspicion, and refused bail; while Morgan's widow is making a fortune by the

publication at Baltimore of various pamphlets. Orders have been sent to drag the water near Fort Niagara for the body; but many persons suppose Morgan is quietly living in concealment on the proceeds of his alleged martyrdom. Be this as it may, the poor freemasons are suffering much obloquy, and in some instances have been grossly attacked.

I have met here a fine young man, a gunsmith, with half his lower lip bit off, and marks of teeth on his cheek, fingers, nose, &c. He tells me, that passing along the Erie Canal near Rome, a few days back, the boat was detained; and to pass away his time, he walked into a house where he saw a number of persons assembled, who proving to be freemasons he soon quitted, but was attacked in the street by half a dozen fellows who kicked, bit, and beat him shamefully.

"However," continued he, "I marked the man who eat my lip, for I seized him by the hair, and getting my thumb in the corner of his eye, I 'gouged' him." I really gave a cry of horror, at the idea of such a monstrous barbarity, which the narrator noticed by saying, "I don't mean to defend the action, but I did not take his eye quite out, only poked it half way from its socket; and let me tell you, when a man is attacked by half a score, and ill-used as I was, he is not over nice in his mode of escape."

Before taking leave of the district of these lakes, I cannot help remarking, that it is in my opinion the most diversified and eligible tract of country in America. There are, it is true, no romantic rocks and precipices; few of the hills can be called high; and much of the soil is poor when compared with the alluvial flats; but then it is a healthy, ever-varying scene of woods, and slopes, and water; possesses several sulphur or burning springs; is situated in the heart of a most powerful state; abounds in fish; and where the partridge or native quail would soon, if a little care was taken, become numerous. It was in this vicinity that the Indians of the Iroquois or Five Nations had fixed their principal settlements some time previous to the revolutionary war; and as they most zealously espoused the part of the British government, they committed several horrible acts of devastation on the neighbouring villages. To revenge which, and prevent future incursions, General Sullivan marched with an army of 5000 men, defeated the savages, and having utterly destroyed their habitations, drove them far to the westward.

Since that period the Mohawks and their confederates, once the most powerful tribe in North America, have almost become extinct as a nation.

The thirty miles from Canandaigua to Rochester, is rapidly becoming settled and cultivated;

several villages have been formed, and the road is undergoing repair, which, by the bye, it certainly needed.

I told you at the commencement of this letter, that Rochester was quite a new town; the oldest person born in it being only seventeen years of age. It owes its rapid increase and importance to the rich agricultural country of Genesee, the Erie Canal, and the great water power—or, as the inhabitants term it, "privilege of water"—of the river which passes through it.

The streets are laid out wide and regular, so that improvements to any extent may take place hereafter; but at present the houses have been run up in such a hurry, as to have a most straggling appearance; while the stumps of trees are still sticking two or three feet out of the ground between them. From the attention shown in the cultivation of small gardens, and evergreens against the dwellings, I should imagine many of the people were newly-arrived emigrants; and that idea is further strengthened by the numerous manufactories of different articles recently established.

The generality of houses throughout the state of New York are of neat planks, painted white, with green Venetian blinds to the windows. The smallest have usually the door in the centre, and a sash window on each side, without any other

than the ground floor. The second size have a floor above, and are sometimes double; while the largest have two windows on each side the door. It is rare to see a house carried higher, except those built in the towns, of brick; and should more room be required in the country, wings and out-houses are added.

The cost, I was informed, varied from £50 to £250, doors and windows included; and though nothing can look more forlorn and wretched than an old unpainted wooden house; yet every dwelling in these western countries is of so recent a date, that all are clean, comfortable, and cheerful; even the few log huts I have passed were plastered and had small windows.

The roofs are covered with wooden shingles, cut into sizes about as big as slates; and the interior of the houses are not only often papered and painted, but by no means deficient in furniture. I am informed the inn I am at is not the best in the town, but it is both large and clean, and I never in England had a better four-post bed and chamber conveniences.

I ought, in fairness, to tell you, that all my American acquaintances declare my tour to have been much more comfortable and agreeable, because it was undertaken so early in the season. In fact, I heard at New York and other cities, that the number of travellers in July,

August, and September, was so great, as frequently to cause several to be put into the same bed-room, besides other annoyances.

I relate things to you as I found them; and have certainly experienced nothing but civility, exeellent accommodation, and amusement, throughout my excursion. I have stated in a former letter, that those who visit the interior of this republic must conform to the customs of the people; for if they expect post-horses, much individual attendance from waiters, or dinners to be served up in private apartments, they will meet with nothing but disappointments, mortifications, and ridicule.

Visitors to Italy soon become reconciled to discomforts, and fleas and vermin; because they can eat delicious ice and macaroni, see splendid galleries of sculpture and paintings, and enjoy the sun. Here, where there are an infinite number of good things, it is only requisite to forget two or three luxuries almost peculiar to Great Britain.

Rochester, besides the shops and etceteras of a bustling, trading town, has some neat sulphur baths, and a museum. These latter are very frequently met with in the United States; and although the intrinsic value of the contents of each is trifling, yet they serve to diffuse a general taste and knowledge of natural history among

all ranks of society; and are the means of preserving many fossils and petrifactions which would otherwise be lost.

How often is it lamented in England, that Roman tesselated pavements, baths, coins, tombs, and other antiquities, have been destroyed, through the ignorance or carelessness of their owners. Now I don't think a similar circumstance would occur here, because almost every individual has seen things of a like nature valued and taken care of in their local museums.

It is pleasing in these vast countries constantly to see near the better farms, tomb-stones and other mementos of the dead. They were erected when no church, perhaps no neighbour, was to be found within leagues; and are generally placed on a gentle rise, deeply shaded by overhanging trees.

The quantity of wheat produced in the Genesee district is almost incredible: I heard, and can scarcely credit the fact, that one person shipped 136,000 barrels of flour; principally for the British West India Islands.

A gentleman named Wadsworth, owns 40,000 acres of land in this neighbourhood, of which between 5000 and 6000 are in the highest state of cultivation: he has no children; but by the laws of the states, his fortune must be equally divided among his five nephews and nieces.

Some wealthy citizens are beginning to evade this enactment, by making their intended heir independent in their lifetime; and he has also his share of the residue at his relation's death: so desirous are men to leave their posterity richer and more powerful than their neighbours, that an equality of goods would seem to be as inconsistent with the bias of the human mind, as an equality of intellect is contrary to the laws of nature.

This distribution of property may be necessary and advantageous under a republican form of government; but it is evidently erroneous policy in a monarchy. In France, for instance, what can such a law tend to, but the impoverishment of the nobility; and making them subservient to the court and minister, instead of being a barrier between king and people, as they ought to be. In Germany, where the titles are given to all, and the wealth only to one, matters are much worse.

In short, there is no constitution framed on more intelligent principles than that of England; or which practically works better. You see I am still a genuine John Bull; though I do find some things to admire and praise out of the narrow limits of my native country.

The river Genesee is about 150 yards across at Rochester; and just below the bridge, falls

over a mass of limestone, ninety feet perpendicular. This cataract is rendered more beautiful by the convex form of the rock, and a small island which extends to the very brink of the precipice, where you can stand while the torrent rushes down on each side of you, but it is by no means a good point of view.

The fall would be extremely picturesque had not the timber on its immediate banks, and on the island above-mentioned, been cut down; but settlers in a wilderness of woods have a natural antipathy to the sight of a tree, and the axe levels all without distinction. There are many factories on its western side; and to the east a saw-mill actually overhangs the gulph. On a projecting crag behind this building I could almost touch the water; and can only compare its appearance, when rushing over, to a torrent of flakes of falling snow. The beams of a setting sun shining through the liquid curtain, and the ever-changing hues of the rainbow formed on the rising spray, had a fine effect.

A ramble down the banks of the stream, which are very steep and woody, is highly interesting, as new and pleasing views of the cataract can continually be obtained through the foliage; and at the village of Carthage, one mile and a half below, the river takes another leap of sixteen or twenty feet, after which it tumbles down a suc-

cession of small ledges, eighty feet high, in a most grand and imposing sheet of foam. This is the finest scene of the kind I ever yet witnessed; and much enhanced by fishermen below with their nets and hooks.

The accompanying rocks are of a reddish sandstone; the river there becomes perfectly smooth, and from twelve to fourteen feet deep the remaining six miles to Lake Ontario; so that sloops come up, and by means of an inclined plane from the cliff, are loaded with salt, flour, Virginian tobacco, and other goods for the Canadian market.

I remain yours very truly, &c.

LETTER VI.

RIDGEWAY—SETTLERS IN THE WILDERNESS—LEWISTON—BUFFALO—LAKE ERIE—OHIO—YANKEES—MR. OWEN'S SETTLEMENT—COMPLAINTS OF AGRICULTURISTS—LAWS—LITTLE CHEERFULNESS.

Falls of Niagara, June 6, 1827.

DEAR ————,

Few spots in the world can command such a sublime—such an awful prospect, as now meets my eye from the balcony of the hotel where I am sitting. A river two or three miles broad is suddenly contracted to less than half that expanse; and then rolling over abrupt and steep shallows, in a most tremendous agitation of whirlpools, eddies, and contending waves, it bounds over the precipice in one deep and solemn roar.

As I am now, however, in Canada, and have found by experience that the grandeur of the scene before me becomes more perceptible to my senses the longer I am acquainted with it; I will, as far as I can, afford you the same opportunity for reflection, by first finishing my de-

scription of the opposite state of New York, and then reverting to the far-famed cataract.

On quitting Rochester the road was formed for eighty miles along a most extraordinary natural causeway, called the Ridge, composed of sand and small gravel, which is not above ten or twenty yards wide at top, and perhaps twelve feet in elevation above the rich alluvial country, to which it slopes very gradually on each side. This was, without doubt, a former boundary of Lake Ontario, from which it is now distant about ten miles; and two miles farther south is another boundary—a cliff of limestone 150 feet high, running in a parallel direction, to where the Niagara separates it from Queenston heights.

That section of country has been but recently settled; yet Parma, Clarkson, Gaines, Oak Orchard, Ridgeway, and other villages, are fast springing up: all have churches with lofty wooden spires; and many of the houses have the English paling before them, with fine single trees left standing to afford shade, and hives of bees in the gardens. I was told they were lately come over from "the Old Country."

The coach quitted the Ridgeway for a few miles, to cut off a great angle; and I there had an opportunity of seeing the wilderness or "bush," untouched by man, and in all its solemn magnificence.

The narrow road, formed of logs and earth, shaking under the slow motion of the wheels, gave a long straight opening through the trees, and disclosed a ribbon of blue sky. To the right and left it seemed as if a fowl could not make way ; so thick was it, indeed, as to check the rank vegetation natural to damp swampy ground. The forest is composed of a variety of species. Oak, elm, beech, maple, and other deciduous trees, generally cover the better soil; cedar and larch are found in the most marshy places; the hemlock-fir, and pine, in rocky sandy tracks. The loftiest timber may be 120 or 130 feet high; below it is another growth of seventy or eighty feet; a third of thirty or forty feet; and the interstices filled up with shrubs, brushwood, &c.

Into this solitary wild of woods one or two poor settlers had just brought the axe: the sight to me was novel and disheartening. A man having made his bargain as to price per acre, with the government, or proprietor of some spot he takes a fancy to, creeps into the thicket with his hatchet, and begins his laborious task. Down fall the trees, some of two or three feet in diameter, covering the whole space with their trunks and boughs; the roots and stumps remaining in the ground to rot. Some of the more convenient logs he drags to the centre; and,

piling them one upon another, builds a square hut; filling up the openings with mud, and leaving places for a door, and one or perhaps two light-holes. Other logs form the floor and sloping roof; which latter is covered with rushes, boughs, turf, or any thing he can get.

His small stock of money purchases a bed, kettle, and some crockery, which most probably the bad weather and ague now make indispensably necessary to him: perhaps he has no near neighbours; or if he has, they are hardened and indifferent to misfortunes they have themselves undergone and surmounted.

If the settler is fortunate enough to escape or recover from the fever, he makes a log zigzag fence round his open ground, and burns the residue of the fallen timber; then hoes between the stumps, which if beech or maple, will decay in four or five years, but if oak and chesnut, remain sound for ten. His fruit trees he plants at regular intervals, between the roots of the ancient occupiers of the land; and sows his wheat, and potatoes, &c. under his orchard. He then turns to the improvement of his house and fence, makes rude tables and chairs, and learns to become a carpenter.

When twenty-five acres of land are thus cleared, he can support a large family in tolerable abundance; but should he have a hundred, he is a thriving man. This, however, is an

affair of years, and the purchase-money in nine cases out of ten has not been paid.

Soon after the successful termination of the Revolution, a number of individuals, mostly Dutch, formed themselves into the "Holland Company," and purchased, I believe, some millions of acres, in the most western division of the state of New York. The conditions on which they resold the land to settlers have not been considered sufficiently eligible; and consequently very little, comparatively speaking, has been cleared and cultivated.

The terms are from two to three pounds per acre, according to soil; and if the money is not paid down, no interest is demanded for the first two years, but six per cent. the following six. At the end of these eight years, if the cash is not forthcoming, compound interest is added to the principal, and another six years is allowed; after which period, if still unable to pay the accumulated debt, the occupier forfeits his farm altogether, and is turned adrift.

This is certainly fair according to law; but I should have thought no man who had seen the spot before the axe had been called in, witnessed the industry necessary to clear and drain it, or observed, as I have, the tenants of one or two log-huts, stretched on their beds with an ague, could find resolution to eject the debtor.

The resident agent of the Holland Company

is an elderly Scotchman, and a hard taskmaster he appears to be. He travelled some distance along the Ridgeway in the coach, for the amiable purpose of "prosecuting according to law" some children, who had thrown stones through his windows and serenaded him with yells, because he had turned their father out of his farm. He is a long-visaged, crabbed-looking personage, with enormous overhanging eyebrows; and told us with much glee how he had found out the perpetrators, and how he would make them smart for it.

A respectable farmer in vain endeavoured to deprecate his wrath, by saying he had known the debtor many years, as a sober, hard-working man, bringing up a large family; for the old fellow declared he would have law, if law was to be got, and that the tenant was a poor devil without a cent, and out he should go. This harshness so exasperated the young man who had "only half poked out" his assailant's eye at Rome, and who was also a passenger in the vehicle, that I thought he would certainly have robbed the Scotchman of his shaggy eye-shades; but fortunately we had nothing beyond a wordy war.

I have since heard at Buffalo, that in the farthest parts of Ohio and other back settlements, where the arm of the law does not reach so surely, families are not turned out quite in so

unceremonious a manner; it might be dangerous. A compromise there takes place; the tenant gives up the land he can't pay for, and the landlord gives him 500 or 600 dollars for his improvements and labour, log-hut, &c. With this sum he goes westward, and becomes a purchaser; while his late tenement is sold to the first emigrant who arrives with enough money to commence comfortably. Thus, according to my information, it is not very common to find a man actually owning and occupying land which he cleared himself.

My coach companion the "Gouger," gave me to understand, in the course of conversation, that he had lived many years in Upper Canada; and was then on his way from New England to inform the disaffected, that if they chose to make a stand against the British Government, there were from 10,000 to 20,000 Yankees quite tired of their houses, and ready to join them. I naturally asked if the Canadians were much oppressed; and he replied, "Oh, no! we pay neither tithes nor taxes, only a nominal rent of one penny in twenty shillings, and are, in fact, quite favoured and spoilt; but it is the surest way of preserving those privileges to kick up a row now and then."

I had heard at New York and other towns on my journey, that Upper Canada was in a state of

almost open insurrection; and now I am actually in it, I can only wonder at such gross exaggerations being prevalent. But a circumstance relative to this colony, which has come under my own observation, will possibly engage much of your consideration.

I have met some highly respectable persons, who, after enumerating the various advantages of Canada, ended by stating, "We left it however for the States, because in it there is no encouragement for exertion and industry; every one has enough, and will not labour for more; which occasions an apathy and listlessness to us intolerable. Here, we have taxation and other rates to provide for; and yet are not only more comfortable, but gain more money likewise."

Lewiston is 320 miles from Albany, and on the eastern bank of the river Niagara, which is rapid even there, although seven miles below the Falls. At that place the sloops from Lake Ontario unload, to allow of the land portage towards Lake Erie; as the cataract impedes all further navigation.

I was surprised not to hear the roar of the water in the stillness of the night, at so short a distance, but the wind was contrary; and next morning it was distinct enough. From Lewiston the road winds up the limestone cliff I have described as the ancient boundary of Lake Ontario; on the

top of which is an extensive view over a flat surface of woods; and it is evident the river has worn through the portion of the ridge which was joined to Queenston heights, having no doubt, at one period, formed its cataract at this spot, which has gradually washed away the softer rock, and thus receded.

The road next passes a lofty precipice, impending over the now raging stream, and noted for the destruction of a party driven over by the French during the colonial wars. Close to it some person has had the good taste to cut an opening in the wood, which affords a distant, but highly picturesque view of the Falls.

At the thriving village of Manchester is a good hotel kept by a General; but the twenty-three miles from thence to Buffalo, is along a truly infamous road, made of trunks of trees, and not in sight of the river, but through a thick wilderness, in which black bears, wolves, and rattle-snakes, are not unfrequent; and quails, also black squirrels, are very numerous.

Buffalo is a handsome and improving town, just above the north-east end of Lake Erie, and has been entirely rebuilt since the late war; which accounts for the streets being unpaved, and want of footways. It contains 4000 inhabitants, two churches, a theatre, town-hall, and several excellent inns; among which, the one

kept by Rathburn, although constructed of wood, is as extensive and elegant as can easily be met with in any part of Europe.

I was often at a loss to comprehend how such numerous houses of public entertainment could exist with profit, in every little town of the republic; but it was explained to me, that the proprietors not only possessed large farms, but their houses served the three purposes of lodgings, hotels, and mere eating-taverns. Thus at Rathburn's, above forty persons have hired apartments by the year, in preference to having the trouble of servants and establishments; and above a hundred sit down daily to his dinner-table; so that with casual travellers and visitors to the newspaper room, the most liberal landlord can gain a livelihood.

The Erie Canal joins the lake at the village of Black Rock, about three miles north of Buffalo; but as the stream of water at that point rushes swiftly into the river Niagara, the cut has been continued to the latter place. In its vicinity also, is a large settlement of the half-civilized Indians; and another is between Lockport and Lewiston.

Buffalo will certainly become, at some future period, one of the most important towns in America; for from the light-house erected at the mouth of its creek, the navigation of the

fresh-water seas to the west and north-west is said to be unimpeded by rapids or other obstructions for some thousands of miles. Lake Erie itself is two hundred and seventy miles by sixty broad, and only two hundred feet deep; while the surface of that of Ontario is three hundred and thirty feet below the Falls of Niagara.

Steam-boats and sloops are continually conveying merchandise on Lake Erie; and some of the sailors insisted, that a tide of a few inches was perceptible at all seasons. A road runs from Buffalo to Pittsburg, on the Ohio river, thus opening an internal communication with New Orleans on the Gulf of Mexico, and it is even talked of cutting a canal in that direction.

While in Buffalo, I made very particular inquiries concerning the rapidly improving states of Ohio and Indiana, the former of which has sprung up to be the fourth, if not the third in the Union. They are represented as vast woody plains of a rich alluvial soil, but with very little wholesome water, owing to the sluggish nature of the rivers and creeks, which likewise deprives the settlers of many "privileges" for machinery. Their population has been swelled not only by new-comers from Europe, but from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and other parts of New England, where the people have lately been

seized with such a mania for emigration, as to attract the attention of their local governments: like young birds, which as soon as fledged and old enough, quit their nests, and forget "kith and kind:" so the Yankees, as their countrymen call them, are found scattered over every section of the Union as pedlars, hucksters, quacks, and speculators.

They are a shrewd, intelligent race, much more talkative and inquisitive than their neighbours; and if the accounts of the southern states are to be credited, where Yankees are hated and accused of exciting disturbances among the slaves, they know how to drive a hard bargain, and have fairly jostled the Jews out of the republic.

From a variety of anecdotes related in ridicule of their parsimonious habits, I shall select the following. A Yankee being far to the west, with his little cart of pedlery, found the wheels wanted greasing, and stopped at the next house for the purpose; where he was supplied so abundantly with the needful, that he not only finished his job and replenished his grease-pot, but still had a great deal left. After looking at the residue a few moments, he turned to the good-natured giver, and said, "I calculate they may want some of this fat at the

next hut, so I will just step over, and see what they will give me for it."

They are chiefly descended from the sectarians who fled from persecution in the seventeenth century; and some of the curious puritanical names are still existing among them.

Of the philanthropic Mr. Owen's settlement, called New Harmony, I have heard but a so-so account. It appears, in truth, a most inharmonious society; for the healthy and industrious do not relish that entire community of goods and produce, which causes them to work hard day after day for the purpose of feeding the idle and sickly; and it is therefore splitting into almost as many divisions as there are families, each taking care, while following the old system, to benefit as much as possible by the expenditure Mr. Owen has incurred in endeavouring to introduce a new one.

The farmers I have met with all declare, that though they have abundance to eat and drink, for any number of children, yet such is at present the low value of produce, they cannot gain any money; and that a man who has to realize the price of his land, in addition to earning a comfortable living, must find it a most difficult task, under even favourable circumstances, as he cannot convert his flour,

sheep, and cows into cash. The late quarrel therefore with Great Britain, which excludes them from the West India islands is very unpopular; and yet as they now have the privilege of bonding their flour in Canada, the loss must chiefly fall on the shipping interests at Boston, Charleston, Baltimore, &c.: for it is notorious, that hitherto where the British flag was seen once in those seas, the American was met with ten times; their vessels being freighted with flour, fresh meat and poultry, packed in ice, eggs, kept sweet for any period by being covered with salt, and other provisions. This valuable trade is now lost to them, because their government persists in levying heavy import duties on foreign goods, in order to encourage the home manufactures.

The overwhelming influence in the United States is decidedly that of the agriculturists; and they assert continually, "If we could only have a market in England or elsewhere for our flour, our cotton, tobacco, &c. we should never think of employing ourselves in manufactures; for we had rather earn the value of two shillings on our own farms than two dollars in close buildings, as the wages of a master."

Law is as plentiful in the American republic as in Great Britain, and the people seem more litigious. It is a thriving trade, and in almost

every village, the words "Attorney at Law Office," written in large characters against two or three houses, infuses a reasonable degree of terror into the passer-by. It is singular, when independence was obtained, the opportunity of getting rid of the old complicated system of jurisprudence was allowed to be lost; but it proves, I think, there were but few disinterested patriots beside Washington; and that the lawyers associated with him were much more assiduous in securing the loaves and fishes, than in rectifying errors which had arisen from time and obsolete usages.

Some few changes were made, and perhaps the most important, the restricting the award of death to three or four crimes only; so that the perpetrators, if discovered, are certain of meeting their reward. We have, I think, in Britain sixty or seventy different cases in which a like sentence is recorded; and then to obviate the reproach, that our laws were written with blood instead of ink, not above one out of three hundred condemned to capital punishment is left for execution.

The Anglo-Americans still have however their John Does, Richard Roes, and other legal fictions; and judges who are quite deaf and almost childish from age, are still allowed to exercise their high functions, because there is no ade-

quate pension appropriated to their retirement from office.

Gentlemen of large landed property are sometimes distinguished by the name of their estate, which sounds very aristocratical; and the title of squire is very commonly given to the owner of the best house, but whether as the justice of peace or not, I could not ascertain. By the bye, I am told, very strange sort of characters, and men whose attainments are not suited to the situation, sometimes get appointed magistrates in the republic.

It may be so: for I know a wealthy county in England where, since the obloquy thrown on the unpaid magistracy, and Lord Sidmouth's neglect in supporting gentlemen who had accepted the commission, the almost only active member of the bench is so illiterate, as to have written the following mandate against a culprit, Hugh Hughes:—"U'll take U Us, an hav im well wiped."

In those parts of the Union I have visited, the people appeared as healthy and robust as with us, and the only peculiarity I remarked was, the number who had weak eyes and wore spectacles.

That they have every reason to be a happy people, and really are so, I think no candid traveller will deny. But they certainly are not

cheerful, seldom laughing or talking with each other or strangers, unless first spoken to; and the drivers of coaches or masters of boats, although in the employment of the same person, rarely notice each other in passing.

The French say, John Bull sometimes becomes lively and good-humoured when well jolted in a stage: but such is not the case with these republicans, who are so intent on calculations of profit and loss, as to have no time for communicativeness.

One circumstance I cannot forgive, the ungrateful indifference, nay oblivion, with which all classes of the community treat the memory of Washington: he still has some admirers undoubtedly, and Boston as well as Baltimore has a monument to his honour. But if it were not that the Federative city is called Washington, I do not believe his name would be uttered in society from year's end to year's end.

Neither do the revolutionary soldiers appear to have been treated with liberality, according to the statements which are frequently inserted in the newspapers; for though some of the officers got grants of land instead of their arrears of pay, the privates received no remuneration. What a contrast to the splendid reception and gifts bestowed on the Marquis Lafayette!

On quitting Buffalo, I proceeded to the neat village at Black Rock, and got into a ferry-boat, which is impelled by four horses treading on a horizontal wheel, which gives motion to the paddles; but such was the rapidity of the river, that though not, I think, half a mile wide in that part, the boat was carried three quarters of a mile down the stream in crossing.

I landed on the Canadian shore, close to the ruins of Fort Erie, and found a neat coach ready to convey the passengers along an excellent road to this hotel.

Yours most truly, &c.

LETTER VII.

FALLS OF NIAGARA—TUMULUS OF SKELETONS—LATE WAR—ANECDOTES—INDIAN WARFARE.

Falls of Niagara, June 12, 1827.

DEAR ———,

THOSE who visit this wonder of nature, should certainly take up their residence on the Canadian side, in one of the two capital hotels built in situations commanding views of the torrent.

I doubt whether the most faithful delineation with the pencil could give any tolerably just idea of the mighty scene below; at least, those sketches I have seen are stiff, unpleasing, and unworthy of the subject. Nor is it easy to write a description, and I must beg your indulgence before I make the attempt, for if I give way to the feelings excited by what I now see from my window, you will laugh at me as an enthusiast; and as I cannot shake off those feelings, I find it difficult to embody them in proper language.

When I first arrived at the cataract I was

disappointed: I could not tell why, or what ideas my imagination had formerly conjured up; but the breadth of the object took off from its apparent height; and then its being curved instead of straight, seemed to diminish its vastness, and the fall was not in one expanse, but divided by an island of some extent. The longer I gazed, however, the more accustomed my eye became to the magnificence of the scene; and the more capable of appreciating the various beauties of the parts, and the sublimity of the whole.

On the eastern side a small stream has been separated from the larger by a mass of rock, and forms a fall called Montmorenci. It is between the two great ones, and on so grand a scale is every thing around, I for some time considered it a mere silvery ribbon, undeserving of much notice; but on further examination, I acknowledged that the Falls of the Clyde would appear very insignificant by its side.

Stairs are constructed against the precipitous cliffs; foot-paths, seats, and ferry-boats have been provided; in short, all that could gratify the most insatiable curiosity, and I made ample use of these conveniences in my rambles, finding at each point some new beauties to admire.

When the sun was bright, I have seen three distinct rainbows playing their various hues on

the ever-changing form of the milk-white mist; which sometimes towers high into the air, at others is driven down the stream, forming a transparent or impenetrable curtain, according to the denseness of the vapour. In thick or rainy weather a gloom overspreads the whole prospect; and at night, if the moon shines out, it lends a softness and indistinctness to every object, which is quite charming. But on every occasion the same deep, solemn roar, unvarying and unchangeable, tells that the accumulated waters of the western regions are pouring before me.

Very soon after quitting Lake Erie, the river is divided into two channels by some large islands, but the streams unite again about four miles above the cataract, forming a considerable expanse, broken by woody headlands and inlets. The water is clear as crystal, very deep, and supposed to continue so to within less than a mile of the precipice; while the surface is smooth and silent, flowing onward with a swiftness quite appalling to those who have seen the gulf so near at hand.

Several individuals are recorded to have been carried down the current within the last few years; some by having attempted to row across the river a few miles above, when they became terrified at the rapid descent of their boat, and

lost all further power of exertion; others by falling asleep in their canoes, which by some accident got adrift and floated down. It is asserted, that even the small steam-boat which plies from the Chippewa Creek to Fort Erie had a very narrow escape last summer.

As the immense moving body of water approaches the rocks which render its bed quite shallow, it takes a bend, and becomes much narrowed; so that its endeavour to force a passage over the impediment it now meets, is attended with a violence unexampled, and a noise almost deafening: and the rocks being of limestone, have been worn into ridges and hollows which dash back the foaming waves, rendering the agitation still more terrible.

The slope down which the river here precipitates itself for the extent of nearly a mile, is so very abrupt and imposing; that if the perpendicular fall did not exist, these rapids alone would be the grandest cataract in the universe.

The great Fall of Niagara is in the form of a fish-hook. The eastern sheet of three hundred and eighty yards, with the fine precipice of Goat Island crowned with timber three hundred and thirty yards, make the shank; while the larger sheet, called the Horse-shoe, of seven hundred yards, may be represented by the curved portion of the hook. The height is a

hundred and sixty feet; and the quantity of water dashed over each minute, has been computed at one million seven hundred and one thousand five hundred and sixty-two tons and a half.

Some visitors prefer a station on the very edge of the abyss, so as to look down on the falling water; others go further along the cliffs, so as to have a front view; but I think the cataract is seen to greatest advantage from the boat when crossing the river. The ferry is so close, and the water so agitated, as to have a frightful appearance; but it is at that spot quite safe, while lower down the stream, even as far as Queenston, a boat would inevitably be dashed to pieces.

The river is projected over the ledge in one unbroken sheet of water, and with such force as to leave a space of about fifty feet between it and the rock. Into this extraordinary cavern the guide has formed a path along the top of the slippery, shelving stones which have tumbled from the wall; and on it the visitor must walk, blinded by the spray, wetted to the skin, and rendered deaf by the horrible noise.

If your breath does not entirely fail, it is possible to advance thirty or forty yards along this singular footway; and almost as much more over a smooth ledge of rock, terminating in an abyss of such depth as to render further pro-

gress impossible. The light of the sun penetrates dimly through the falling curtain of this unique grotto; the roof is masses of limestone, jutting out from the precipice, and which are continually worn away by the torrent, so that Mr. Forsyth, of the hotel, assures me the Horse-shoe Fall has receded about a hundred yards during the forty-two years he has resided near it.

Perilous as a walk under the Fall appears to be, there is not in reality much danger. Ladies continually venture during the summer months; and many persons go to catch the eels, which are found in great numbers sticking to the rock.

In winter the scene, I am told, has its own peculiar beauties. Enormous pieces of ice float down from Lake Erie, and are dashed over with terrific violence; the spray gets frozen and attached to the trees and rocks, resembling turretted castles, columns, every variety of shape; wild fowl get entangled in the rapids during dark nights, and are picked up below, either killed or with broken wings; and it would seem there is a strong current of air as well as water at the brink of the cataract, for birds flying near it are often seen to fall as if powerless, recovering the use of their wings before they reach the bottom.

The Eastern or American Fall is not so tremendously awful as the other; but there is a wooden bridge to Goat Island just above it, where you can stand in the centre of the rapids and see the water tumble towards you in billows of foam. Why it does not sweep the frail timber on which you stand over the precipice, is almost incomprehensible; but it glides close under. The man who first constructed this bridge must have had nerves and talents rarely excelled.

One or two rocky islets amid these rapids add greatly to the picturesque effect. Under the shady foliage of one is an apartment for billiards, refreshments, and specimens of petrifactions; on another is a water-wheel; and under the lofty trees of Goat Island itself, a number of most agreeable walks have been laid out.

I know it is the custom to talk of man sinking into insignificance beside the mighty works of nature; but I beg to differ on this subject. If it is meant, that the works of man become insignificant by comparison, I agree to the truth; but I never think human nature so ennobled as when I view the wonders of that world which has been given it as an inheritance. The Falls of Niagara and other sublime objects make me more feelingly alive to the power and goodness of

the Supreme Being, but certainly do not cause me to repine at the natural advantages of my species.

A military road is now being formed along the Canadian banks of the river; which if ever finished, and the trees not too much cut away, will afford perhaps the most interesting drive in the known world. Far below the Falls the torrent is pent up into narrow limits by lofty woody precipices, so that it rages with a long continuance of rapids, eddies, &c. hollowing out in one place a deep recess, called from its boiling vortex, "the Devil's Whirlpool." Not far from this hotel is a remarkable sulphur spring, which on being confined in a tub, and a candle applied, the vapour will burn like gas: there is another at the foot of the cataract, but only lately discovered. Seven miles westward of hence, the Welland Canal is now being excavated: it will be thirty-five miles long, is to carry vessels drawing eight feet water, and must rise three hundred and fifty or three hundred and sixty feet between the Lakes Ontario and Erie. In the same direction the present governor of Upper Canada has a house and grounds much in the English cottage style; and from which is an extensive prospect to the northward, over woody flats and the far-spreading lake.

I was conducted to the highest part of the

small hills, which continue from Queenston to where a tumulus had been found some years back full of human skeletons; and I saw many bones, but could not trace any remains of a ditch or rampart. A much larger pile of skeletons has been cut through in laying out the streets of Columbus Town in Ohio; and others are reported to exist along the banks of the Ohio and Mississippi, near those ancient entrenchments I formerly mentioned.

Some insist they are the remains of a civilized people, exterminated by Indian hordes from Asia who fled thence at the time of the Mahometan conquests; others consider they belonged to Prince Madoc and his Welsh followers in the twelfth century; many ingenious disquisitions are also to be found in Governor Clinton's Treatise on American Antiquities: but I believe the only well-authenticated historical facts on which all these pretty superstructures have been raised, are the existence of pyramids in Mexico, and the refusal of Montezuma and some of his chiefs to resist Cortez, because he had come from the land of their forefathers.

What a pity it is, some expert craniologist does not cross the Atlantic to inspect the skulls! for he could doubtless tell us, whether their possessors had been red, white, black, or tawny men, and so clear up the mystery.

In the vicinity of the Falls of Niagara are likewise the fields of battle of Chippewa, Lundy Lane, and other sanguinary contests in 1814; at all of which it would seem much animosity was shown, and the drubbing tolerably equally divided.

So little was it anticipated the American government would push matters to extremity, that when the war broke out, only one British battalion was stationed in the extensive district of Upper Canada; but General Brock was universally beloved, and when he called on the young men to come and defend the frontier, they flocked with spirit to his standard. That gallant officer was killed in a skirmish, much lamented by both parties; and a handsome column has been erected to his memory on Queenston heights, near the spot where he fell.

As reinforcements arrived, villages were burnt, first on one side of the river, then on the other; each army declaring they only did it in retaliation; but what officers of either nation have assured me they thought equally disgraceful and inefficient, was the employment of Indians.

A chief, named Tecumseh, renowned for his superior acquirements and influence, went even to the rocky mountains of the West, persuading the tribes, that now was the opportunity, by assisting their Great Red Father, to exterminate

those who wrongfully held possession of their forests and hunting-grounds. Nearly six thousand warriors were thus induced, I hear, to follow him to the scene of warfare; and an English officer of rank declared to me, that they were one constant source of uneasiness and annoyance, by their habits of insubordination, drunkenness, and contemptuous rejection of rations on the most frivolous pretexts.

The Americans on their side brought up Indians from the south; and a body far more formidable and equally ferocious, the back-woodsmen with their rifles.

Tecumseh's troops were almost annihilated, through the obstinacy of a British commander, who insisted on their fighting in an open space, instead of availing themselves, as accustomed, of the thickets and trees. The chief himself was shot down after displaying much bravery; and an American told me, the flesh was cut into strips from the body almost before life was extinct, and carried off as trophies of the event. "But," continued the narrator, "those back-woodsmen are worse than the savages they hunt and murder; they have nothing of the true Yankee breed in them; they are, in short, blood-thirsty Irish." So you see, poor Pat gets accused, let him mix with what nation he may.

Lord Chatham's famous speech against the

employment of Indians, is said to have made his hearers shudder at the possibility of atrocities, which in those days could only be very limited in extent; but now that the United States contain a population of twelve millions, and women with children are as numerous hundreds of miles in the interior as they then were around Boston or Philadelphia, what man would willingly load his conscience with such a reflection, as that of having been accessary to letting the savages loose.

The Indian's glory consists in killing as many as possible without injury to himself; therefore, he naturally seeks the scalps of women and children in preference to those of men, because the latter may prove more powerful or more fortunate than himself in the encounter.

Yours sincerely, &c.

LETTER VIII.

NIAGARA TOWN—YORK—LAKE ONTARIO—KINGSTON—RAPIDS OF ST. LAWRENCE—ERROR IN FIXING BOUNDARIES—CAUSES OF DISCONTENT IN UPPER CANADA—MONTREAL—RIVER RICHELIEU—FRENCH CANADIANS—CONSTITUTION OF CANADA.

St. John's Village, Lower Canada,
June 28, 1827.

DEAR ———,

THE tract on the Niagara river being one of the oldest settlements in Upper Canada, has a large strip of land in excellent cultivation and good orchards; but is without any signs of recent improvement: no acres lately cleared of wood, with the stumps sticking up to show progressive industry, are there seen; the houses are usually old, unpainted, wooden ones, and the furniture neither so good or convenient as in the opposite state.

On the ruins of Fort George, a town of 1200 inhabitants has been entirely built since the last war; it is called Niagara, is well laid out with wide unpaved streets, and the houses being new and painted white, have a cheerful, neat appearance. It contains several good inns, and till the troops were removed was very thriving, as no

less a sum than 4000*l.* per month was paid out by the commissariat department alone. At present I understood the chief employment to be, a contraband trade in tea and some other articles, which are cheaper in Canada than the United States. The gardens, orchards, &c. were all destroyed when Fort George was taken.

On the opposite side of the river, on a small peninsula jutting into the lake, is the old French Fort of Niagara; in which the strong stone house with a high peaked roof, and some other buildings, have rather a striking effect. It is now abandoned as a fortress, and the soldiers withdrawn to Washington; for I believe the republican government keeps up a small standing army of 6000 men.

A steam-boat runs daily from Niagara town to the seat of government at York, a distance of thirty-six miles across the lake; and returns at night. This latter place is low and unhealthy, but some new military roads have been made from it to Fort Maldon at the western end of Lake Erie, and other important points, so as to keep open the communication between the settlements.

Other boats run to Kingston at the north-east end of Ontario, and besides passengers carry great quantities of flour secured in barrels. This lake is a hundred and eighty miles by forty,

and in one part seventy broad; the depth is generally five hundred feet, the water quite clear and well tasted, with a great variety of fine fish. It is subject to most tremendous storms, when the quickness with which the waves follow each other, causes vessels to labour heavily and run much danger: in winter it is never quite frozen over.

That portion of Canada which forms its northern shore appeared to be of a poor, sandy soil, abounding in fir and cedar trees, and scarcely with any houses or cleared spaces. Two or three woody islands are found in its waters, but I believe very few shoals or rocks, and no current or tide is visible, though after the melting of the snow its surface rises considerably.

Kingston is in a very pleasing situation on a small hill sloping from a creek, and commands an extensive prospect. Its streets are straight and wide, though not paved; it has 4000 people, and some of its houses are built of brick or stone. On the opposite side of the creek is the royal dock-yard, with neat ranges of buildings for the shipwrights and workmen, a good residence for the commissioner, barracks, and some strong batteries and forts.

One one-hundred-and-ten-gun ship, two seventy-fours, a frigate, and some other vessels, left agreeable to the terms of the late treaty, are

fast decaying; as is a hundred-and-twenty-gun ship, and several smaller ones in the rival and opposite dock-yard of Sacket's Harbour. The Americans do not keep up any establishment there whatever.

Soon after quitting Kingston, the St. Lawrence begins to run rather rapidly between the beautiful-looking granite islets which rise above its surface in every direction. The whole scene is highly picturesque, on account of the waving foliage which commonly shades the rocks; and it is called the passage of the Thousand Islands, though their number amounts to one thousand seven hundred.

Cultivation did not seem to have made much progress on either side the St. Lawrence, until the steam-boat arrived at the thriving little town of Prescot, where all goods are landed, and put on board flat-bottomed boats. The neat town of Ogdensburg is on the New York side of the river; which is there one mile and a half wide, rapid, and often tempestuous.

The banks of the St. Lawrence are thirty or forty feet above the stream; and along the Canadian side, a good road runs for fifty miles to the village of Cornwall, through a well cultivated slip of land, from which, perhaps, after all, the rapids can be seen to greatest advantage. But I was determined to try some of them in an

open boat, and soon found myself past those called the Gallop, which are short and not much agitated.

The next rapid was two miles in length, and much more boisterous; but the third, named "Longue Saut," is by far the grandest and most dangerous.

The bed of the river is there not only much contracted, but divided by an island into two channels, through which the water pours on a steep descent for nine miles; winding among rocks and round abrupt turnings, with whirlpools, and eddies, and waves dashing against each other from every direction.

The boat I was in took just half an hour in shooting down the distance; but I was assured that "batteaux" heavily laden would glide the nine miles in fifteen or twenty minutes. The commencement of that rapid is bad; but the worst spot is where the Northern or Lost Channel unites with the other near the bottom, for there the waves continually break over the boat and half fill it with water.

This excursion on the St. Lawrence, in addition to the novel, and somewhat alarming appearance of the rapids, is rendered delightful by the green-sward and park-like scenery often witnessed on its banks; and if the water is tolerably high, there is no danger of an accident with a steady

pilot, who knows the deepest channel. The southern or American side of the country does not seem to be much settled yet; and some of the headlands in that territory were really beautiful.

Cornwall is a neat and thriving village, with a much better inn than at Prescot, and a steamboat which navigates lake St. Francis, a part of the river so called from its being spread over a width of seven miles, and diversified with several woody islands. The shores on each side are low, the Glengarry settlement extending about thirty miles along the northern, and the Indian village St. Regis, which is the boundary of the United States, being to the south, with the mountains of Lake Champlain appearing in the far distance over it.

On landing at the village of "Coteau de Lac," I was in Lower Canada; and will therefore now give you such particulars concerning the state of the upper province, as I have been able to learn from apparently good authority; always premising, that a traveller is generally led into many errors by contradictory and prejudiced information.

Upper Canada is supposed at this moment to contain 180,000 people, of which more than one half are emigrants from the United States, many

of whom came in with their parents as early as General Simcoe's proclamation at the end of the revolutionary war. Among the whole of these much dissatisfaction prevails, on account of some late resolutions of the Legislature respecting oaths of allegiance, oaths of abjuration of other governments, and deeds of naturalization.

The first they declare they have already taken repeatedly, particularly on three occasions during the last war, but do not care if they take it again. The second oath they object to, because many hold lands in the United States, which they fear to loose, and because Englishmen are allowed to hold property all the world over, without their government interfering: but to be called on to admit themselves aliens is the great grievance. They assert, some limitation ought to be made; such, for instance, as including those only who have entered Canada since the conclusion of the late war; for it is absurd, that those who have fought and bled in defence of the frontier, who have received commissions, and now hold pensions for wounds, or as half pay, should all at once be told they do not belong to the country.

They represent it as a trick of the present members of the House of Assembly, who by thus getting temporary possession of their free-

holds, will deprive great numbers of the right of voting at the approaching election, and so ensure their own return.

Another class of the inhabitants deeply resent some former attempts to provide for a national church by tithes, and fear bills of a similar nature may be again brought forward: they also want to know how the money paid by settlers as fees is appropriated; viz. twenty-seven dollars for every deed of one hundred acres, seventy-five dollars for two hundred acres, and so in proportion; and affirm positively, that the present regulations respecting grants of land occasion much fraud, and great detriment to the colony.

I should imagine the greatest evil to be, the total separation which I hear exists between the various people who compose the scanty population. Thus the Americans, Scotch, English, and some Dutch and Germans have no other interest in common than thwarting each other as much as possible.

Two Pennsylvanian farmers who have been travelling through the western countries apparently on a mission of inspection, assured me that a finer tract of land could not be found in all America than that part of Upper Canada, which extends along the northern shore of Lake Erie; but that in the one or two comfortable

villages they found there, the occupiers seemed quite satisfied with what they then had, without any attempts being made at improvement.

A Canadian Land Company has lately been formed in Great Britain, but I believe sufficient time has not yet elapsed to judge of the progress it is likely to make, or whether the terms will be more favourable than those of the Holland Company in the state of New York. A Scotch gentleman is the resident agent.

I must not omit remarking on the extraordinary oversight which the British commissioners appointed to fix the boundary line of the two nations, have committed on the St. Lawrence. By having ceded the majority of islands below Prescot, the United States Government has the means of erecting batteries on both sides the only navigable channel; and in other places, the breadth of the river has been so equally divided, and the depth of water so little considered, that scarcely six inches draught can float along the British half.

The American commissioners knew personally the localities and navigation of the river; and the advantage they gained is not of such trivial importance as may at first appear; for already the republicans talk of the injustice of British subjects navigating their side of the St. Lawrence, unless a free passage is allowed to the citizens of the United States, as far as Montreal, Quebec, and

the Ocean. This is one strong reason why canals are now being cut, or recommended in the Canadas, to avoid all parts impeded by rapids, or within the territory of New York.

From "Couteau de Lac" to the village and rapids of Cedars, the road passes along a well-cultivated country, where the language spoken is a French patois; and by a contented healthy-looking peasantry, who are evidently resolved to leave things in the same state as their fathers left them. At the foot of the Cascade Rapids, the great river Ottawa joins its muddy stream to the transparent waters of the St. Lawrence; but they flow some distance before mingling together.

Another steam-boat stationed at that point, conveys travellers to the village and rapids of "La Chine," seven miles from Montreal, having run over a part of the river called Lake "St. Lewis."

Montreal is situated below all the rapids which impede the navigation of the St. Lawrence; and amid a rich and beautiful scene of cultivation, which extends to a distance unusual in America, and proves it to be an old established settlement. The city has narrow streets stretching a considerable distance along the river, but neither well cleaned nor well paved; the houses are generally small, but of stone, and covered with tin roofs, to prevent accidents by fire, which reflects the sun's rays in a most painful manner.

To the northward of the town is a high hill; and several handsome country houses are scattered about in the vicinity. The churches and monasteries are not remarkable for architecture; but a fine cathedral is now being built by the catholics to supersede the ancient one.

The court-house and jail are substantial buildings, with a good parade for the garrison behind the latter; a monument to Nelson, surmounted by his statue, is in tolerable taste; and there is also a theatre, a circus, and some barracks. The markets are abundant, and many of the shops well supplied with goods, arranged with considerable taste. The hotels are excellent.

I know no city where a more convenient or handsome quay might be constructed, as a sufficient space has been left along the St. Lawrence, which is there two miles across; but the road at present is little better than a mass of filth, from one end to the other; in short, the town not being incorporated, has no competent authorities; and as the French inhabitants resolutely oppose all innovations or improvements, it has not made that progress which its wealth and population of 25,000 residents would seem to warrant.

A small island just below Montreal, and appropriated to the ordnance department, is delightfully shaded with trees, and laid out in walks, drives, &c. That charming spot used, until very

recently, to be the favourite resort of all such respectable inhabitants as could hire a boat; but the major commanding has now offended the whole neighbourhood, by restricting the walk to those who may obtain his permission. It can scarcely be called fortified, as there are only two breastworks towards the river.

Among other novelties an order has lately arrived from the Master-General of the ordnance in London, forbidding officers of the engineers from complying with any requisitions of the local government, respecting improvements, maps, surveys, &c. unless they judge their time and duties will not be too much interfered with. This is giving a most comfortable degree of latitude to the corps, and I should imagine is an infringement on the powers vested in the king's representative in Canada.

A steam-boat runs down to Quebec in twenty-four hours, and back in thirty-six; but you have so often read accounts of that city, its beautiful situation, fortifications, and neighbouring falls of Montmorenci and Chaudier, that I can have no excuse for writing on the subject.

A class of men, styled "voyageurs," engaged in the lumber or timber trade, deserve particular notice; because a certain degree of eclat has long been attached to the performance of one or more of those dangerous voyages; so that few

young Canadians of the lower ranks settle in life before they can boast of the perils they have thus encountered.

By drinking large quantities of spirits they make their bodies almost callous to the snow, frost, water, and scorching heat of these climates; but their constitutions are undermined, and it is rare for one to arrive at the age of fifty: the occupation being one routine of fatigue, idleness, privations, debauchery, and lawlessness.

What these men will undergo as long as they have hope is almost incredible; but with the French character of great bravery and sudden panics, they quickly despond when entangled in the rapids, and instead of pulling at the oar with vigour, empty the brandy-bottles: so also, if threatened with famine and want of provisions, all authority and obedience is at an end, and they devour or waste what little is left.

Few rafts arrive at Quebec in an uninjured state, and a great many are totally destroyed; so that taking all these things into consideration, a Canadian gentleman I became acquainted with, who is much attached to his native province, insists that the lumber trade, instead of being advantageous to the inhabitants, is the great cause why they make such little progress in modern arts and inventions.

The large village "La Prairie" is nine miles

south of Montreal; and the current runs so rapidly, that the steam-boat crosses slowly enough; I was two hours making the passage. The level country from thence to the river Richelieu, is entirely cleared and cultivated; and also as far down as Fort Sorel. The village of Chamblé is agreeably situated on a bay of the Richelieu, and at the foot of some dangerous rapids, which are the sole obstacle to the navigation of that river for the largest vessels, from the farthest parts of Lake Champlain to the sea. Opposite the village is a large extent of cultivation, and some rocky isolated mountains of no great extent, but forming a fine background.

An ancient square fortress, built by the French, with strong stone walls, is still existing at Chamblé in tolerable repair, and has more the appearance of a baronial castle than any building I have seen in America. Not far from it are some cavalry barracks, occupied in 1814 by a British regiment of dragoons; and a few miles beyond it is the village of St. John's, from whence the Champlain steam-boat takes its departure, and where I have found a comfortable inn.

This is the limit of cultivation on this side; as the British frontier post called "Isle aux Noix" is only twelve miles further up the stream.

The French Canadians seem a good humoured happy race; are of the catholic religion; obstinately

averse to any and every change; and, I am told, very generally ignorant of reading and writing. Even the mode of dress does not appear to have undergone much alteration; nor could it be wished that the girls, who have often fine dark eyes and pretty features, should discard their present large brimmed straw-hat, placed very backward on one side of their heads.

In agriculture they use the old heavy plough; of rotation in crops they are ignorant—sowing wheat year after year till the ground becomes unproductive, when they let it lie fallow; of manure they either do not know the use, or are too indolent to apply it; and of turnips none are cultivated either here or in the United States, except in gardens. The Canadian horses are small and ill-looking, but hardy.

The sledges driven in winter are so low and badly contrived, that the front pushes on the snow till the accumulation makes a great resistance; when the exertions of the horses pull the machine over the heap, which it thus presses into a solid mass. So the Canadian roads, during frost, are compared to waves of two feet high, which have suddenly been congealed.

A few winters ago, three sledges were made and driven about the streets of Montreal, to overcome, if possible, the prejudices of the people; one like those commonly used, a second

similar to the excellent ones of the United States, and a third endeavouring to unite the two extremes.

On the market days the farmers gazed and admired; acknowledged the advantage of having two smooth tracks like a rail-road, instead of the former jolting hillocks, and praised the invention. But on being desired to adopt the improved machine, Montreal was left without fire-wood or provisions, as nobody would come to the town except in the old way.

Each of the Canadas has its upper and lower House of Assembly; the members of which are elected by the people, and have great privileges, such as raising the monies necessary for local expenses, making laws, &c. which are laid before the governor, for his approval or rejection; and the final appeal is to the ministry in London.

A large annual sum has been expended hitherto by the British government in gifts and presents to the Indians, or rather in affording those savages an opportunity of getting drunk for ten days or a fortnight. This, with the fortifications, garrisons, and various other items, has caused an outlay to the Mother Country, of above one million per annum.

That they are fine provinces, capable of vast improvements, and may some day or other become important, I do not deny; but why they

should at this moment be considered of so much value, I really cannot imagine. As an outlet to our surplus population, they have as yet been of no benefit, or why has not the number of their inhabitants increased in proportion, or the marks of progressive industry become more apparent? Particularly in Upper Canada, which possesses the more temperate climate, and perhaps on the whole the better soil.

In that province I have heard a few persons talk wildly of forming a republic, independent of England and the United States; whereas it is clear, that with their present trifling resources, they must either be a colony of Britain, or a part of the Federation. In Lower Canada there exists an hereditary hatred to the people of the Union; nor would those who by commercial intercourse have become acquainted with the severe colonial laws now enforced by France in her West India Islands, at all relish the idea of being ruled by that power.

Some Canadian gentlemen once told me, they believed the surest way of putting an end to all the existing disputes and animosities would be for Great Britain to threaten a total abandonment of the two provinces, leaving them to their own resources and management.

Of one thing I am very certain, that to send out emigrants to these countries, who have been

brought up in the hot-bed factories of cotton or woollen; give them land and an axe, and say, "there—cut away, work, and become your own master and landlord," must appear little better than cruel irony to those who have seen what an uncleared wilderness is.

In many instances the poor creatures have dragged through that period when provisions and other assistance are allowed by government, and then have taken the first opportunity of selling their allotment of ground to some richer neighbour, and abandon the country.

Yours truly, &c.

LETTER IX.

LAKE CHAMPLAIN—IRISH EMIGRANTS—PLATTSBURG—SIR G. PREVOST—LAKE GEORGE—MASSACRE BY THE FRENCH IN 1757—SARATOGA—REFLECTIONS—CLASS OF EMIGRANTS WHO SUCCEED BEST.

Saratoga, July 10, 1827.

DEAR ———,

THE steam-boat in which I left St. John's, was neatly fitted up, and the charge of conveyance one hundred and fifty miles, with three well-supplied meals was twenty-five shillings, but the time occupied in running that distance was uselessly protracted to twenty-four hours.

The river Richelieu is in general about half a mile wide, and the banks on both sides when near the frontiers are covered with thick woods. At the "Isle aux Noix" the British have a small dock-yard, and a strong square fort is being constructed. The position is excellent, as it completely commands the navigation; but the soil is of so loose and swampy a nature, as scarcely to bear the weight of the ramparts, and I should fear it will prove an unhealthy aguish post.

The line of demarcation between the two nations is the 45° of latitude, and at that point a strong stone fortress was erected by the Americans very recently, but being found a few yards within the British territory, is now abandoned.

We had with us as passengers on the forecastle a great many poor Irish; and I understood the boat was always crammed with them, on every voyage from Canada to the United States. They told me on being questioned, it was their intention to proceed to New York, and there petition the English Consul to ship them back to Europe.

I suggested, that Montreal or Quebec, being British towns, would have answered their purpose better, and been nearer at hand; but they did not like Canada, was the reply, so they got out of it as fast as possible. Some gentlemen on board suggested, that as most probably these people had been sent out at the government's expense, there was a very natural objection to sending them back again in the same manner, consequently, they went to a city where the fact could not be so easily ascertained.

Whether this trick is often practised I of course cannot pretend to form an opinion; but it in some measure accounts for so many Irish beggars being seen in the streets of Albany, and is worth while enquiring into.

Lake Champlain at its commencement is much broken by islands, some of large extent, others mere rocks, but all of them covered with timber. The village bearing the same name is seen to the right, and the mountains of Vermont rising 2000 feet, form a fine boundary to the upper end of the water. The bustling little town of Plattsburg is forty miles south of St. John's village, and was rendered remarkable in 1814 by our vessels being defeated, and by Sir George Prevost fairly running away at the head of one thousand three hundred men; or as an English colonel expresses himself, "We were long enough in reaching Plattsburg, but we got back again in one-third of the time."

In regard to the naval victory, an American officer who served there says, the contest was long doubtful, and even unfavourable to them at one time, owing to a brig having quitted her position near the Commodore: but a fortunate manœuvre, and consequent sinking of a British vessel, gave such a turn to the affair as insured them success. "And then," continued he, "we had the unexpected satisfaction of seeing General Prevost making a hasty retreat, and long puzzled ourselves with conjectures, as to the cause of his so sudden change in resolutions."

It would seem that Sir George's great failing was indecision and want of moral courage; for as to personal bravery, his bitterest accusers

admit he was seldom excelled. One gentleman told me, that he had himself seen General Prevost at the attack on Sacket's Harbour, when the landing party began to waver, jump on the beach and cry, "Grenadiers of the —— regiment, form yourselves on me!" then lead them to the charge, and take possession of the place. After this gallant exploit however, his evil genius prevailed; and looking for some minutes stedfastly at the surrounding forest, he ordered an immediate retreat.

At the back of Plattsburg commences a long range of hills, running south, which abound in valuable iron ore, and employ many people. There also, the Lake begins to expand into a surface seven or eight miles wide; and the shores are not only delightfully undulating, but have a thriving appearance of progressive industry and cultivation. Port Kent and other little hamlets line the western shore; while the handsome town of Burlington adds beauty to the other, many of the houses being large, and the population almost 3000. From thence the passage up the lake continually improves; the mountains almost touch the water, only leaving at their base a succession of cultivated knolls and slopes, varying in height from 100 to 300 feet. It was the most lovely scene I had witnessed on my tour.

At Crown Point the French had a strong fort,

and another at Ticonderoga; where an outlet from Lake George affords the traveller an opportunity, if he chooses, by going round some rapids of two miles, to sail over that beautiful sheet of water, and so pass to Saratoga; instead of continuing with the steam-boat up a deep creek to the village of Whitehall, and thence by the public coach or canal to the city of Albany.

Lake George is the most celebrated in North America for its picturesque beauties. Its extreme length is thirty-six miles; its width varies greatly, being sometimes narrowed into a mere river, by the near approach of abrupt mountains and a long projecting headland, and then expanding into a surface of several miles, dotted with islands. The water is perfectly clear, and said to be often sixty fathoms deep. The fish are abundant, as by law no nets are allowed to be used; and there are great numbers of green turtle, from three to thirty pounds in weight, whose flesh is excellent, but the shell too soft and thin for making combs or other similar purposes.

It is a complete mountain lake, surrounded on every side by steeply rising hills of 800 or 1200 feet in height, which are covered with pines and other wood for building and fuel. The soil in its vicinity is a poor sand, or rock, so that the farms are neither numerous or of much value; and the

forest not only harbours a few panthers and wolves, but is noted for rattle-snakes.

I cannot compare Lake George to those of Cumberland and Westmoreland, in precipitous crags, deep glens of shady oaks and watered by a cascade, in parks, cultivation, or the towering peaks of a mountainous outline; but it is, nevertheless, a lovely scéne, which will afford ample gratification to every visitor.

The village of Caldwell, which is delightfully situated at the southern or upper end of the water, contains several inns, one of which is large and comfortable; with a steam-boat plying daily, during the summer seasons, to Ticonderoga and back again. I could pass a month or six weeks much more agreeably there, than in the fashionable town where I now am.

On a small hill above Caldwell are the ruins of Fort George, built by the English as a frontier post, when that of William Henry, a few hundred yards to the westward, was destroyed by the French in 1757. This conquest was attended by one of the most disgraceful transactions of any nation on record; and such was the horror excited, that notwithstanding the lapse of time, and various changes among the inhabitants, the following tradition is still kept up in the vicinity, as well as a strong hatred towards the French.

The Marquis Montcalm, Governor of Canada,

with 7000 French troops, and rather under 4000 Indians and colonists, suddenly invested the intrenchment called William Henry, before it was in a proper state for defence; but the spirited commander, a Colonel Monroe, repulsed every assault during six days; when, having burst his guns, expended his ammunition, and been twice refused assistance by General Webb, who was only fourteen miles off with a well-disciplined army of 6000 men, the fort was surrendered on condition of protection to the garrison, and a French escort to the nearest English post.

By this agreement, nearly 2000 persons, soldiers, peasants, women and children, were marched out unarmed; but before they had proceeded a quarter of a mile, an indiscriminate massacre, with circumstances of unprecedented barbarity, was commenced. Monroe rushed back to the Marquis, and upbraided his treachery, insisting that the escort ought to be compelled to interfere; but Montcalm declared himself and troops were afraid the Indians might attack them also.

After much expostulation and entreaty, with remarks on the French soldiers being twice as numerous as their savage allies, their general was absolutely shamed into exertions; but it was almost too late, 1500 had already been scalped.

Montcalm, in 1759, died at the head of his troops, bravely defending Quebec against General Wolfe. But, after the above atrocious action, he was undeserving of so gallant a fate, and ought rather to have been hanged at the gate of that city. The American novelist, Mr. Cooper, has given an interesting and faithful account of the above massacre, with descriptions of the cowardly nature of Indian warfare, in his work called "The Last of the Mohicans."

It is said that General Webb was never punished for his refusal to assist Colonel Monroe and his garrison, because the immense distance between the colonies and the mother country precluded the government from learning the truth. This and many similar instances are adduced, to show that the very best of men are unfit to rule over any country which is removed several thousand miles from them.

The land between Lake George and Saratoga is generally sandy, and covered with pine forests; but it is broken into hill and dale, and a ridge of low mountains bounds the western prospect. At the large village of Glenn's Falls, on the Hudson, that river has a very picturesque appearance; for its dark lime rocks are worn into various shapes and fissures, over which the water forms a highly beautiful cascade of forty feet.

The existence of several ruinous-looking saw-

mills and a dam, with an old wooden bridge, and the want of trees, have tended to destroy much of the romantic nature of this scene; but it forms, with Baker's Falls, three miles lower down, where the Hudson rushes down a precipice of seventy-six feet, a most delightful morning's excursion from this place.

To those who have time and inclination for rambles, the banks of the Hudson, for many leagues above Glenn's Falls, winding its devious way amid mountains and opposing rocks, will afford a continual variety of solitary and charming scenes. The river continues eighty or a hundred yards wide, a very long distance, with occasional cascades and rapid descents; and, if my information is correct, the best shooting country in the State of New York is to be found among the sources of that great stream.

Saratoga has become, within the last ten years, the Cheltenham or Buxton of the United States, on account of a strongly effervescing saline spring, the waters of which are by no means unpleasant to drink, and are thought highly salutary from the quantity of fixed air they contain.

The spot was disclosed to the governor by an Indian, as much as seventy years ago, and the spring then used was reserved for public accommodation, when the land was granted to settlers; but the superior quality of the newer-found

sources, particularly that called Congress Water, has thrown the ancient one into disrepute, and none drink at it, except those who do not wish to pay for the privilege.

Saratoga is laid out in one long wide street, which has a most cheerful appearance; for though all the houses, with one single exception, are built of wood, yet, being neatly painted, and having columns and verandas, overgrown with woodbine, clematis, &c., the whole town is pleasing and gay. Besides several dozen boarding and lodging-houses, inns, &c., there are three hotels on the most extensive scale, each having accommodation for nearly three hundred visitors, in addition to baths and billiard tables. The furniture and fitting up is handsome, the tables well supplied, and wines, with all other luxuries, may be had on calling for.

The proprietors of these hotels take it by turns to give nightly balls, with good bands of music stationed in the gardens; and they enforce such excellent regulations, by turning any person out of the three houses, who misconducts himself in either, that, although the company consists of all classes, very few quarrels take place.

The season this year is uncommonly backward, by reason of the cold weather in May, and therefore I have not seen Saratoga in all its glory of crowds and fashion; which I lament exceedingly,

because families from every part of the Union, even from New Orleans, three thousand miles off, are said to frequent its healing waters.

The roads about this neighbourhood are sandy, the country poor but undulating; and among the many agreeable rides, is that to the charming little lake of Saratoga, where an unexpected scene of rich farms and pastoral beauty is displayed. A few miles further, is the neat village of Ballston, with some large handsome hotels for visitors to the springs of that place. The soil about there is richer, and has evidently been much longer under cultivation; but the houses are often unpainted, and have not that clean, comfortable appearance of the newer settlements to the west. One reason given me was, that the occupiers were generally tenants instead of owners, the farms in that quarter being very extensive. The hire of a labourer, they told me, was fifteen shillings a-week, besides meals.

Another excursion, and very naturally a favourite one with the American public, is to the remains of Fort Edward, and thence to Bemiss Heights, where, on October 17, 1777, General Burgoyne and a British army of 6000 men, were compelled to surrender to General Gates. A road from thence runs along the side of the Hudson to Waterford, a fine village, and so on to the Cohoes Falls, and Albany.

I much fear this will be the last letter I shall be able to send you from America, at least as far as regards the continuance of my tour; for circumstances seem likely to prevent my excursion from Albany to Boston, and thence through Hartford to New York.

I regret this disappointment the more, because I am assured the towns and scenery, in both Massachusetts and Connecticut, are well worth a visit; and that in the villages, I should often observe the two or three shady trees planted on the parish green, as used so commonly to be the case in England before the Inclosure Act.

Allow me to fill up this paper by indulging in a few reflections, which, after the many hundred miles I have passed over, and the gratification and kindness I have experienced, may, I think, be deemed pardonable, if not absolutely called for.

In the United States, the best feelings of the heart and the understanding are constantly called into play, by the sight of a well-fed, well-clothed, industrious people, without beggary, or fears of having too large a family; and never did I feel so proud of being an Englishman, as while travelling through the vast territories of this republic.

True, it is no longer a part of the British empire; but it was an English colony, and it is, in

language, manners, dress, customs, laws, almost government, a second England. No similar example exists in history. Where are the colonies of the Egyptians and Phœnicians, of Greece and of Rome?

Modern nations may, perhaps, dispute as to which language and code of laws most nearly resemble those of the ancients. But in what part of the world do those people still exist? Not in Greece; not in Italy; for, even in language, the Spanish more nearly approaches the pure Latin than the present dialects of either Rome or Tuscany.

If Britain shall follow the law of nations, and, like all other powerful dominions, shall sink into insignificance and ruin, she will still live in a portion of America as large as half Europe. Probably she will appear also in the vast settlements of New Holland, which will, no doubt, likewise free themselves from the tutelage of a government situated on the other side of the globe.

And does the mother country really lose, by her colonies becoming sufficiently rich and powerful to declare themselves independent? I believe such ideas are becoming very generally exploded! Her pride is wounded, her power is somewhat humiliated; and human nature will not tolerate such injuries without a struggle. But when time has obliterated those causes of

animosity, who is it that loses by the change? Those only who have enjoyed the patronage of making governors, commandants, judges, and the numerous placemen of a colonial government.

It is said that not a single British colony pays its expenses! Now let any man look back to what was the annual expenditure in this country, and call to mind the necessary increase which must have taken place, had we preserved the territory; and I think he will acknowledge, that by paying their own fleets and armies and government, and trading with our ports to the amount of many millions a-year, these worthy citizens have conferred a most important benefit on England.

In regard to liberty of person and security of property, these republicans are not one jot better off than ourselves in Britain: each change of President creates great civil dissensions, which must increase in proportion to the number of wealthy and powerful candidates; an evil avoided by our having an hereditary dynasty. But what seems strange, is the complaint of many here, that the election by ballot is found to be quite as open to bribery and corruption as our "*viva voce*" system.

Three great advantages the inhabitants of the Union do certainly enjoy over us; they have no excise, no tithes, and no game laws. All car-

penters, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, mechanics, labourers, in short all who get a livelihood by the work of their own hands (except sedentary manufacturers) will bring up a large family here with more facility and comfort than in England; but farmers who have been renting to the amount of 150*l.* or 200*l.* a-year, and all those who have been more accustomed to superintend and direct others than work themselves, will find their comforts very seriously lessened by emigration.

I have met with two or three men grumbling—discontented and eager to get back; because, instead of being able to mount their hacks, and ride about their fields to see all was right, as they used to do when leaseholders in England, they must now strip off their coats, and join in the work of the few labourers they have been lucky enough to hire, or else not a spade or a pitchfork will be moved.

"Those cursed fellows," continued the complainants, "call themselves helpers—not servants; and devilish little they do help us, for we have to load most of our carts ourselves."

With respect to the means this country possesses, of providing during any long period for the rapidly-increasing population which is pouring in from all sides, a gentleman who has been surveying a line of road to the Pacific, informs me that the general character of the land be-

yond the Missouri is sterile; and he does not think the central parts of the Continent can ever be thickly peopled: but beyond the great western mountains a fruitful tract exists, which he supposes will be quickly overspread by the flourishing settlements on Columbia river.

The great State of New York has now about two millions of inhabitants, but could easily maintain five or six times that number; other states may possibly be as productive, and of equal territory; but after all, it is idle perhaps to write on a subject so dependent on political events; for so various, and in many cases opposite, are the interests of the different members of this Federation, that the Union hangs by a mere thread; and I firmly believe it is the fear of their slaves alone which has prevented the Southern States from separating themselves before this.

With the sincere wish that the wide waters of the Atlantic may prove a sufficient barrier between the jealousies of the two kindred nations,

I remain,

Yours very truly, &c.

THE END.

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